

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XIV.—APRIL, 1858.

ON CERTAIN TERMS OF CELTIC ETHNOLOGY, AND ON A RECENT THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WELSH.¹

(Read at Monmouth.)

THE remarks which I am going to make, must be regarded as a humble contribution towards determining the origin of certain national appellations, with which we are all familiar. But in speaking of the *origin* of these appellations, I would not be understood to refer to their *etymology*. The etymology of gentile names is from the nature of the case, in almost every instance, extremely obscure and uncertain. The names themselves may be traced back to a very remote antiquity, and the languages to which they belong have undergone such modifications that it is generally difficult to recognize the roots. The attempts which have been made to assign them have in many cases been particularly infelicitous. Accordingly, it is not my intention to wander into these dark and slippery ways of antiquity. My object is to trace the history of these terms, and by these means to throw some light upon the history of the races to which they belong. When it can be made out that a national name was at any period

¹ This paper has undergone various modifications since it was delivered, which it is unnecessary to specify. But the afterthoughts have mainly taken the form of foot-notes.

used in a more extended or in a more contracted sense than at present, or that it has been transferred from one tribe to another, or that a nation has borne different titles at different periods of its history, or in different languages, —any one of these facts constitutes a problem, whose solution must in a greater or less degree involve the discovery of past facts in the history of that nation.

Moreover I do not pretend to answer all the questions which may emerge in the course of this investigation. On the contrary I shall be obliged to leave many recognized difficulties unsolved, and even to state new ones, of which I do not see the solution. But something will have been gained by merely raising a question, if it has had the effect of promoting discussion and inquiry.

I will begin with the word which is perhaps the most familiar to us of all those which come within the range of my subject; I mean the name of our country, *WALES*, and its derivative adjective, *Welsh*. Now the origin commonly assigned to this word is possibly a true, but it is by no means an adequate account of the matter. The term, in the earliest form in which it appears in the English language, also means "strange," "foreign."² The Welsh, then, upon this view, were the strangers, the ἀλλόφυλοι, whom the Teutonic invaders found in Britain. But it is to be observed that the same term, in kindred dialects, has a more extended signification. The word *Wälsch*, which also means "foreign" in German, has acquired various specific applications. For instance, it is used convertibly with *Italienisch*, for "Italian," although the latter is the more usual and colloquial expression. It is applied to the Romansch, the isolated language of Latin origin, spoken in the upper valleys of the Rhine and Inn. If we cross the passes where the great Alpine chains are gathered up into a mighty knot in the St. Gotthard, and descend into the basin of the Rhone, we

² The root is preserved in the word "walnut:" compare the German, *Wälsche Nuss*.

shall find the same name in a somewhat altered shape. The *Wallis*, better known to English tourists under the French form of *Valais*, extends to the head of the Lake of Geneva.³ The northern shore of the lake is occupied by the Pays de *Vaud*,⁴ in German *Waat*, apparently, although not so obviously, another derivative from the same root.⁵ The dialect of Gruyères in the mountains of Fribourg, is called in German, *Gruverin-Wälsch*. The small town of Neuchâtel, which has recently acquired a disproportionate importance in European politics, is called *Wälschneuburg*, though more commonly Neuburg. Mr. Wright, in a lecture to which I shall presently have occasion to refer, says that the term was applied especially to the French, in the middle ages, in the "German languages of the continent."⁶ Certainly the inhabitants of France are repeatedly designated *Galwalas* in the Saxon Chronicle. Lastly, we find the *Wallons* in Belgium, and the *Welsh* in Britain; so that we have tribes bearing the same or similar names, in a sort of cordon extending from the Adriatic to the Atlantic Ocean.⁷ And now the ques-

³ It is true that the upper portion of the Canton is now occupied by a German population. But I think it probable that the Germans of the Valais are comparatively recent intruders, as those who inhabit the heads of the Piedmontese valleys near Monte Rosa, obviously are.

⁴ Are we to add to our list the *Vaudois* of the Cottian Alps? I have seen somewhere a version of the Lord's Prayer in a Celtic dialect, purporting to have been spoken formerly among that people, but so obviously akin to the Irish language, as to leave no doubt that it was forged in Ireland.

⁵ It appears also to be called *Wälschland*.

⁶ Lecture on the English Language.

⁷ I have not included the Wallachians in this enumeration, because their name contains an element for the presence of which it is not easy to account at first sight, and in its Greek dress (*Βλάχοι*) presents a wholly different appearance. They possess two of the three characteristics ascribed below to the Welsh of Western Europe; but differ from the others in not being Celts. But the name, if it be the same, may have been extended to them from the Celtic provincials by the Teutonic race. The only Teutons, as Mr. Freeman has observed to me, who can have come into contact with them in early times, were the Mæso-Goths. But they cannot have known much about the Celts. However, the learned Bohemian, Dobrowsky, as quoted by

tion arises, upon what principle this common name was applied to these various populations. And to this question different answers might be given. It is to be observed that the word, although it means *foreign*, is not applied to *all* non-Teutonic tribes, but only to those who border on the Teutonic race to the west and south. The Slavonic nations, who bound it on the east, have received the common appellation of *Wends*. The populations who bear the common designation of *Welsh* (*Wülsch*, &c.) are all within the limits of the ancient empire, they all speak Romance dialects, with the exception of the Welsh of Britain, and, with the possible exception of the inhabitants of the Grisons, they are probably all of Celtic blood. For which of these reasons was the term applied? Mr. Wright answers the question in the following terms:—

"The German race had a term for those who were of a different race from themselves, . . . which, as the Romans were the only race quite different from their own with which they had much acquaintance, they applied especially and almost solely to people speaking the Latin tongue. . . . It was no doubt for the same reason, namely, that they were a people speaking Latin, that the Anglo-Saxons applied this word to the population they found in Britain, and it probably became extended to what we now call Wales and the Welsh, merely because, when they subsequently became acquainted with them, the Anglo-Saxons confounded the inhabitants of that district with the other old inhabitants of South Britain."⁸

I will not now anticipate the question whether, or to

Dr. Prichard (*Physical History of Mankind*, iii. Ed. 3; pp. 404, note, 476), tells us that the Slavonians have three words for "foreigners," which are applied specifically as follows,—*Czud*, to the Allophylian nations to the north and east, *Niem* (i. e., "dumb") to the Teutons, and *Wlach* "to all Celtic people termed by the Germans *Welsh*, and as the latter name was extended to the Italians, so *Vlach* was probably applied to Romanized nations." The Wallachians, then, who call themselves *Rumanje* ("Romans"), may have received their name from their Slavonian neighbours, who learned the use of the word, in its more extended signification, from the Germans. The guttural element may be nothing more than the termination characteristic of gentile nouns, as in *Slovak*, &c.

⁸ Lecture on the English Language.

what extent, the Anglo-Saxons found a Latin-speaking population in Britain. But I do not altogether see why this answer has been given to the question, rather than either of the two others which I have indicated as possible. Why should the common name of Welsh have been applied to the provincials, because they spoke Latin, rather than as subjects of the Roman empire, or because those who marched upon the Germans were, to a great extent, members of the great Celtic race? Surely the Germans must have had "much acquaintance" with the Celtic tribes on their western frontier, some of whom indeed appear by a reflex movement to have formed settlements in the midst of them, long before the Roman eagles hovered on the banks of the Rhine. Without venturing to dogmatize on the subject, I contend that it is at least as probable as any other supposition, that the term in question was first applied to the Gauls in very early times, and afterwards extended from them, the only Roman provincials with whom they had "much acquaintance," to other subjects of the empire, whether Celtic or not. And it must not be forgotten that the whole north of Italy was occupied by tribes of Celtic origin. Mr. Wright's theory appears to assume that the Germans first became acquainted with their neighbours when under Roman domination, or at all events that they had not sufficient intelligence to give them any appellation before that date. On the contrary it appears to me they *must* have given them a name, and are as likely to have given them the name of Welsh as any other.

And here I will venture upon another suggestion. I make it with hesitation; and I am uncertain to what consequences it may lead us. Everybody will recollect the scene in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, where "mine Host of the Garter" makes peace between the Welsh parson and the French doctor, apostrophizing them respectively as "Guallia and Gaul, French and Welsh, soul-curer and body-curer." Now I would wish to ask, whether we are to regard this alliteration as altogether accidental? Is there no etymological connection between

the words? Philologists will see at a glance that the two words, *Gallus* and *Wealh*, may be connected, and as they are applied in different languages to the same race, there arises a presumption that they are the same word in different shapes. And the presumption is so strong, that I should accept it at once without hesitation, were it not for certain difficulties which it involves. For in the first place it will be asked, upon the supposition of the identity of these names, which is the earlier form? Did the Romans learn their word from the Germans, or did the Germans learn theirs from the Romans? The former supposition is negatived by the fact that the Romans used the word before they had come in contact (so far as we know) with the Teutonic race. But the contrary supposition interferes with the etymology which has been assigned to the Teutonic word.

There is another possibility, and I think, but one more, and that is that the Romans learned their word from the Gauls themselves. But this encumbers the subject with fresh difficulties. For, assuming that the Celts, or a portion of them, designated themselves by this common name, is it, or is it not, the same name by which one of the two branches of the Celtic race designate themselves still? Is not *Gaul* the same as *Gael*? To this view there are two great objections. First, *Gael*, though so pronounced, is not properly so spelt; the word as written, *Gaoidheal*, is obviously the same word as the Welsh *Gwyddel*.⁹ The Gael then must have called themselves

⁹ I am surprised to see that Mr. Babington, in an interesting paper on the "Firbolgic Forts in Aran," (see above, p. 97,) throws a doubt on the identity of the *Gael* with the *Gwyddel*. That the remains ascribed to the *Gwyddel* by Welsh tradition may be inaccurately assigned to them, is of course very possible, but nothing is more evident than that *Gael* and *Gwyddel* are at bottom the same word. Mr. Babington appears to forget that, in the mouth of a Welshman at the present day, *Gwyddel* means nothing more or less than *Irish*. The eminent Irish antiquaries, cited by Mr. Babington, must pardon me if I do not accept as conclusive, the evidence of chronicles which profess to record events that took place "in the North and West of Ireland" "long before the Christian era," or even "during the

by the name in that form when their present orthography was fixed. I do not know when that was; but it must

first century after the birth of Christ." I will not say that such evidence is untrustworthy, until I have examined it; but that it should be trustworthy, would be contrary to all historical experience. With regard to the Gwyddel, I take this opportunity of commenting on some remarks in a letter addressed to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1856, p. 323) by Mr. Fenton:—

"And here, not to impugn the ingenuity and learning of our friend and associate, the Rev. W. Basil Jones, in his Essay upon the advent of the Gael in Britain, I cannot but think that, in argument for support of his theory as to the application of the word *Gwyddel*, in so many instances, he may be in error; for Gwyddel has two very obvious meanings; in one sense the simple word *Gwydd* means a district covered with low trees,—brushwood; or as *Gwyddel*, the inhabitants of wooded lowlands, in contradistinction to those of a mountainous or bare country, who were termed *Uchel-wyr*, instead of Gwyddelion. Now, many of the words which Mr. Jones brings forward in support of his hypothesis have nothing to do with the *people*, but with the mere locality; as Gwyddelwern (the wooded brake), Nantgwyddel (the brook abounding in stunted or low trees),—just its character,—near Llanthony Abbey, *et multis aliis* (sic.) I am, therefore, of opinion, that the Gael, or Gwyddelion, were the invaders, and that the Britons, who were the prior inhabitants of the more mountainous districts, both of North and South Wales, in the end, drove these advenæ out. Besides, no portion of our inland mountainous region, either in names of places or otherwise, has any reference to a Gwyddelian population; but several parts of the maritime unwooded lowlands exhibit strong proofs of their having become settlers there for many centuries, until conquered by the Britons, and amalgamated with the original possessors of the soil."

Even upon Mr. Fenton's own showing, the words which I have adduced in support of my theory, must have to do with *people* of some kind or other. If *Gwyddel* means "the inhabitants of wooded lowlands" (though there is really no element in the word signifying "lowlands"), *Nantgwyddel* must mean, not "the brook abounding in stunted or low trees," but "the brook of the inhabitants of wooded lowlands." But then Mr. Fenton, after denying that the local names in question have anything to do with the Gwyddel, in the ethnical sense of the term, appears suddenly to change his plan of attack, and to argue that the Gwyddel were the invaders because, as their name implies, they occupied the "wooded lowlands;" though it appears, after all, that it was in the "maritime unwooded lowlands" that they were placed! Surely it is a sufficient reply to this intricate reasoning to say that the Gwyddel *call themselves* by that name. Lastly Mr. Fenton asserts that "no portion of our inland mountainous region, whether in names of places or otherwise, has any reference to a Gwyddelian population." I beg to refer him to my amended list of places bearing their name, (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1854, pp. 259, 260,) and in particular to the case which he has himself quoted, Nantgwyddel, near Llanthony.

have been long after the times about which we are inquiring. So that the resemblance between *Gallus* and *Gael*, when scrutinized historically, appears to vanish. Moreover, it does not remove the difficulty as to the origin of the word, but only transfers it. Did the Gauls learn it from the Germans, or did the Germans learn it from the Gauls?

As regards the first objection, the following solution has occurred to me as a possible one. The elision of the middle consonant in the word *Gael* is not an isolated case in Gaelic, it is part of a general law, by which the lighter consonants though still written, are in many words no longer pronounced. Now a law of any language exhibits a tendency which may always have existed. Philologists have ascribed to the Latin language a "yearning after contractions." That yearning has to a great extent generated the Romance languages, and has always been working in them. Why should not the same tendency, which is manifestly at work in Gaelic, have existed in it at a very early period? Upon this view, it is possible that while the western and more barbarous of the Gaelic tribes still called themselves *Gaoidheal*, the more advanced members of that race, with whom the Romans and Germans came in contact, may have already clipped the word down to something like its modern pronunciation.

But even if we allow this, the old difficulty recurs in a new shape. Is the name originally Celtic or German? If the former, its etymology from the word signifying *strange* or *foreign* falls to the ground. If the latter, we have a whole race calling themselves by a name which they have learned from another people, a thing unprecedented and hardly conceivable, besides the, if possible, more serious objection, that the Celtic retains the older and uncorrupted form of the word.

I confess I see but one escape from the dilemma, if it should be thought that the three words *Gael*, *Gallus*, and *Wälsch* are so similar as to be probably akin. I think the common may be derived from the proper noun, and not the proper from the common. I think the Germans

may not have called the Celts *Welsh* because they were strangers, but have called other men and things *Welsh* (i.e., "strangers") because they were in that respect like the Celts. It is not uncommon to find a strictly gentile appellation transferred and extended far beyond its proper limits, or even generalized until it has acquired the character of a common noun. Thus we have learned to call the aborigines of America *Indians*. Or again, to take the case of a particular object of a very familiar and domestic character—what we call a *Turkey cock*, the French call *coq d' Inde*, and the Germans *kalekutischer Hahn*; the truth being that the species is of American origin. The word *slave*, again, from being a national name, has passed into nearly all the languages of modern Europe as an appellative. Lastly, the later Jews called all Gentiles,—all who were not Jews,—by the common name of *Greeks*. And in like manner, the Teutons may have called the Gauls by a name derived from that by which they designated themselves; and afterwards, as they were the foreigners with whom they had most to do, converted the proper name into an appellative, and applied it to everything foreign, strange and outlandish.¹

I admit the many difficulties which the view which I have put forward involves, and the necessity of having recourse to a string of hypotheses to explain them. But the balance of probabilities appears to me on the whole to incline in this direction.²

The name which has formed the subject of this discussion has never been accepted by the Welsh themselves. They call themselves CYMRY, "Cambrians." Of course

¹ An additional parallel might be found in the name of *Wends*, extended (according to Dr. Prichard's view) from the Old Prussians to the Slavonic race.—*Physical History*, iii. p. 450.

² It may be observed in passing that the word Γαλάται, by which the Greeks designate the Gauls, must be connected with *Gallus*: while the more common term which is used convertibly with it, Κέλροι, must, I think, be referred to a distinct origin. Γαλάτης and Κέλρός, are, however, not always identical:—see *Sozomen*, vii. 13; Prichard, *Physical History*, iii. p. 49, note.

this is far from being an isolated case. It is nothing unusual for a nation to call itself by a different name from that by which it is known to other nations. But the circumstance which is most especially noteworthy, is this. It is comparatively speaking a *modern* name. It does not appear in history as the appellation of a race occupying the present seats of the Welsh people, or indeed of any tribe in Britain, before the dawn of the middle ages. The name of *Cimbri*, renowned as it was on the continent of Europe,³ is not connected with this country by any writer of authority.⁴ The natives of the island are spoken of as *Britons*, or designated by the names of their particular tribes; but the name in question is unknown. It cannot be denied that this constitutes a difficulty; but it is probably one which is significant, and the solution of which would lead to further results.

Of course it would be an easy way of disposing of the difficulty if we could find reason to believe that not only the name of the Cymry, but the Cymry themselves, were imported into their present position, and indeed into the island, after the close of the Roman period. And as a theory of this kind has been recently propounded (not that it is in all respects a new one) and has naturally attracted a certain amount of attention in our Society, I must turn aside to consider it.⁵

I trust I am representing Mr. Wright's views fairly, when I state them briefly as comprehended in the following positions; and I have the more confidence that I am doing so, because I have used, as nearly as possible, his own words.

³ I do not now wish to open the question whether the *Cimbri* of the Scandinavian Chersonese were identical or connected with the *Cymry* of Britain. But in spite of the many difficulties which the supposition involves, I feel almost certain that the similarity of the names is not accidental.—See Prichard, *Physical History*, iii. pp. 103-5.

⁴ Richard of Cirencester alone places a tribe of Cimbri in Somersetshire.

⁵ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1857, p. 64.

Mr. Wright asserts, then, or suggests:—

“That at the close of what is called the Roman period of the history of Britain, the remains of the original Celtic population were very small:”

“That the popular story that the people who resisted the Saxons was the ancient Celtic population of the island, and that it retired before the conquerors until it found a last refuge in Wales, is a mere fiction:”

“That contemporary with the invasions of the Saxons and Angles, and the irruptions of the Picts and Scots in the North, Wales itself was visited by a similar and even more fatal invasion:”

“That the Welsh may be settlers on the ruins of the Roman province on their side of the island, just as the Saxons and Angles were in England, and the Northern invaders in the districts of the South of Scotland:”

And finally, that they may have come from Brittany.

As regards the first of these propositions, I do not think it necessary to accept or reject it, any further than as a denial of it may be involved in the objections which I shall make against those that follow. I mean to say that it may be true of the south-eastern parts of Britain, as against the northern and western districts, or of the towns as against the country. How far it is so, it is beside my present purpose to consider. But I am persuaded as I shall presently show more fully, as regards the *whole* of South Britain, it is not true.⁶

What I have said on this point, will cover the following one. I will just observe, in addition, that the statement that “the ancient Celtic population” “retired before the conquerors until it found a last refuge in

⁶ Probability is doubtless in favour of the complete Romanization of some parts of Britain. It would seem strange if Picardy were Romanized and Kent not. But it does not follow that the inhabitants of Caernarvonshire spoke Latin because those of Kent did. And even in Gaul,—although the Latin language has now superseded the Celtic throughout, except in the Armorican peninsula,—we have perhaps no right to assume that the latter had died out in all other parts, at all events in the country, at the close of the Roman period in Britain. The well-known passage of St. Jerome proves that it was not extinct in the previous century even in the neighbourhood of Treves, one of the chief centres of Roman influence in the Transalpine Empire.

Wales" is not only "a mere fiction," but one which, I suppose, nobody believes or imagines. I say, nobody believes that the whole population was swept clean out of England, and rolled up in a small compass within the mountains of Wales. But it is one thing to believe this, and another thing to hold that the Welsh are of the same blood with the ancient inhabitants of South-Eastern Britain, and even—what could hardly fail to happen in that case—that some at least of the latter took refuge among their countrymen. So much at least of the "popular story" is credible, and supported by historical parallels.

But Mr. Wright asserts, thirdly, that at the time of the Teutonic immigration, "Wales itself was visited by a similar and even more fatal invasion." The evidence of this is to be found in the destruction of the Roman towns which Mr. Wright asserts—or rather, I venture to think, assumes—to have taken place in Wales. This, he tell us, would not have been the work of the previously existing population: they would not have destroyed what was "to have been their protection" against the invaders. Now as regards the facts of the case, it seems to me that Mr. Babington has brought forward exceptions sufficient to sap the foundation of this theory.⁷ The cases of Isca and Venta, Maridunum and Leucarum in South, and Segontium in North Wales, are enough, one would think, to establish a negative.⁸ But Mr. Wright argues that there was in these cases no continuous occupation, but that the inhabitants were merely settlers who had taken possession of the deserted walls. For this assertion, let it be observed, not a particle of evidence is shown. There

⁷ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1857, p. 64.

⁸ I feel little doubt that we might add several names to this list. Neath, for example, retains its ancient name, and appears to have been a place of some importance at an early period. But this is set aside, because there are "no traces of the Roman station left." Yet it is easy to imagine that of so small a place as we may suppose it to have been, all traces would long before this have been obliterated. Mr. Wakeman made some sensible remarks upon this subject at Monmouth, with reference to that town as the supposed site of Blestium.

may be symptoms that the population of these places were mere squatters, but no such symptoms have been pointed out or appealed to. What right have we to assume that this was the case at Maridunum and Segontium, rather than at Lindum and Corinium—at Venta or Isca Silurum, rather than at Venta Belgarum or Isca Dumnoniorum? I repeat, there *may* exist evidences of such a distinction, but until they have been produced, it must be regarded as a gratuitous assumption. In the case of one of these places, indeed, there is counter-evidence of a peculiar kind. The testimony of tradition in favour of the ecclesiastical supremacy of Caerleon down to the sixth or seventh century is so clear and unvarying, as to carry conviction to all such minds as do not look for demonstration where demonstration is impossible. But it receives a strong confirmation from the fact that Caerleon was the principal Roman town in the district in which it stands, and was therefore a probable site for an episcopal see, and above all from the certainty that those who invented the tradition (if it be a figment) were unconscious of that probability. This is evidence, to a certain extent, that, as regards Caerleon at least, no such violent disruption as is supposed, has occurred.

Further, Mr. Wright appears to assume that the Roman towns in this part of Britain were of equal importance with those to the east of the Severn. But as we find no large towns in Wales now, and as like causes produce like effects, it seems probable that the Roman towns of Britannia Secunda were generally small and insignificant as compared with those in the more advanced parts of the island. And if this was the case, it is easy to imagine that when the support of the Roman military power was withdrawn they would simply die of a collapse. And if they were inhabited by strangers, on whom the rural population must have looked with distrust and aversion, it is probable enough that the process of demolition may have been assisted by the surrounding people, stimulated perhaps by the love of plunder or the desire of retaliation.

Lastly, I agree with Mr. Babington in thinking that

something may be due to the wars which were waged against the Gaelic occupants of the country, whether they are to be regarded as invaders or not. I am aware that all this is merely hypothesis; but if it accounts for the phenomena, it will save us the trouble of framing a theory as merely hypothetical, which has the additional disadvantage of running counter to the uniform testimony of tradition.

For it must be observed, that however much it may vary on other points, tradition is invariable upon this. The existing Cymry are always spoken of, and always speak of themselves, as of the same blood with the Britons who resisted unsuccessfully the Anglo-Saxons. The Saxon Chronicle calls the Britons, even those whom Julius Cæsar found in the island, *Welsh*; while all the Latin chroniclers, down to the time of the Norman Conquest, speak of the Welsh as *Britons*. In fact the words appear at that period to be strictly convertible.⁹ They are both applied, and with the same local distinctions, to the Celtic inhabitants of Wales, of Cornwall, of Cumbria and of Strathclyde, and never, so far as I know, to the Gaelic race in North Britain. Indeed the word *Britannia*, although it sometimes means the island of Great Britain, is not unfrequently equivalent to *Wales*, as the country of the Britons. Of course tradition is fallible, but the negative evidence derived from its invariable agreement is not to be overlooked.

The few indications which are to be found in the legendary history of Wales, of an immigration into that country about this period, point, as Mr. Babington has already observed, not to the continent of Europe, but to Scotland and the north-west of England as the source of it. I have elsewhere brought together the scattered notices of this event, which are such as not to leave it doubtful that a portion of the Welsh nation moved down

⁹ There is no evidence that the Romanized provincials in Britain, or their descendants, were ever called *Romans*, as was the case in all other countries, and is so still in many parts of both the Eastern and Western Empire.

from North Britain about the close of the Roman period and expelled from various parts of Wales a Gaelic tribe.¹ But the same notices assume that a large part of the Welsh nation had been in occupation of their present seats long previously, and certainly in no case assign the Welsh to a transmarine region as their previous habitation.

For, in the last place, Mr. Wright brings the Cymry from Brittany. I must quote his arguments at length. They are as follow:—

“At the beginning of the fifth century . . . the Armoricans, become independent, joined in the general spirit of aggression which urged the barbarians to the invasion of the Roman province of Gaul, and . . . subsequently . . . the Armoricans themselves were closely pressed . . . and placed indeed exactly in that position in which emigration would have attractions for its ambitious and powerful chiefs. Britain alone offered any field for their activity.”

Again:—

“People speak of the so close resemblance between the languages of Brittany and Wales, that I have seen and heard it stated by men, who are understood to have known both languages well, that a Breton of the present day might hold conversation with a Welshman. Philologists know that such a close similarity as this is hardly within the range of possibility, after the natural changes which all languages undergo in so great a period of time, if Welsh were historically the representative of a language spoken in Britain in the time of Cæsar, and Breton the similar representative of the language of ancient Gaul. Whereas, if we could suppose that Welsh was Breton separated from it at the close of the Roman period, and therefore not having experienced the long intervening influence of Roman civilization, the close similarity of the two languages is much more easily understood.”

The *à priori* argument is of a kind which, as the old logicians say, *facile retorqueri potest*.² The British tribes,

¹ Vestiges of the Gael. See also *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1854, p. 257.

² Mr. Wright tells us that Armorica was “never completely Romanized . . . in consequence of its physical character and condition.” Surely the physical obstacles to change were as great and greater in Wales. But if Mr. Wright draws a distinction between the conditions of the two countries, I should be glad to know upon what grounds

as we are informed, set the example of revolt to the Armoricans.³ The Britons, as we know, were "subsequently closely pressed" as well as the Armoricans. The Britons therefore were as much as the Armoricans in the condition in which there is "a tendency if not a necessity to emigrate." Is not, therefore, the old story of a British migration to Armorica, which Mr. Wright simply ignores, at least as probable as the contrary hypothesis? Indeed there is one circumstance which makes it considerably more probable. About the time in which Mr. Wright supposes a colonization of Britain from Armorica, we find the first doubtful mention of Britons in Armorica itself;⁴ and in process of time, as we know, that country acquired the name of Britain. We have here the mysterious, inexplicable, and, I should think, unparalleled, circumstance of a parent country adopting the name of an island which it has helped to colonize, as if Greece had taken the name of Sicily, or England that of Australia! Of course it is possible, and I am inclined to believe, that the Armoricans were called Britons long before, as being of the same blood and tongue with the insular Britons.⁵ But Mr. Wright has blocked up that

he does so. I presume he does not draw this conclusion merely from the preservation of the Celtic language in Armorica, as that would involve a *petitio principii*.

³ Καὶ ὁ Ἀρμόριχος ἅπας, καὶ ἕτεραι Γαλατῶν ἐπαρχίαι, Βρεττανὸς μνησάμεναι, κατὰ τὸν Ἰσον σφᾶς ἡλευθέρωσαν τρόπον.—*Zosimus*, vi. 5.

⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* i. 7) speaks of "Britannos super Ligirim sitos." But it is not clear whether he is speaking of a people settled on the Loire, or of the invaders under Rhiothimus—(see *Jornandes de Rebb. Get.* c. xlv.); if, indeed, Rhiothimus was an insular Briton. *Sozomen* (vii. 13) speaks of Βρετανῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων Γαλατῶν: but probably we ought not to press the meaning of ὁμόρων.—See other evidences in *Amédée Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois*, i. p. cxii.

⁵ It is worthy of observation that the Bretons speak of the French as *Gallec*. Their ancestors therefore must have looked upon the Romanized Gauls *ab extra*. Are we to suppose that the non-Romanized Celts gave to their countrymen who had adopted the Latin language the name by which the Romans themselves designated the provincials,—or that the term was applied to the previous inhabitants of the country and their neighbours by immigrants from Britain?

loop-hole, by holding "that we must look to the Irish language as the real representative of the Celtic dialects which were spoken in Britain before its occupation by the Romans."⁶

But if the *à priori* argument breaks down, the argument from existing phenomena is even less tenable. It is the old story of the "fish in the tub," in a new form. The "so close resemblance" between Welsh and Breton is purely imaginary. I will not say that a Breton *might* not hold conversation with a Welshman; but the conversation would certainly be a very short one, and not particularly fluent. The resemblance between Breton and Welsh is not nearer than that between English and German—I say it advisedly, for they stand much in the same relation to one another, and the differences are much of the same kind. And in each case there is an intermediate dialect, in Teutonic the various forms of Low Dutch, and in Celtic the Cornish, now extinct. And here again the parallel holds. For, as a general rule, the Low Dutch dialects agree with the English as against the High Dutch; and the Cornish agrees with the Breton as against the Welsh;⁷ the English and Breton being each distinguished from their respective co-ordinates, principally by a considerable infusion of a Romance element.⁸

⁶ Lecture on the English Language.

⁷ This fact was observed even by Giraldus Cambrensis. In his time the Breton and Cornish were nearly identical, while the Bretons and Welsh were all but unintelligible.—*Cambrice Descriptio*, c. 6.

⁸ It is to be regretted that Mr. Wright should have trusted to hearsay evidence for that which is, in fact, the key-stone of his theory. A glance at the *Grammatica Celtica* of Professor Zeuss, or a cursory comparison of Legonidec's Translation of the New Testament with the Welsh authorized version, would have satisfied him that the two languages are not more nearly akin than others which must have been separated for twenty centuries. Of course I do not mean to deny that the languages contain traces of intercourse between the nations at a much later period. On the contrary, I have elsewhere laboured to prove, by a comparison of their respective ecclesiastical language, that the Welsh and the Armoricans had "their Christianity in common."—(*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1854, p. 89.) But the same may be said of all the Teutonic languages, whose separation must nevertheless

The results which we have obtained from this examination are of importance in more ways than one. For it appears in the first place that the supposed connection is not sufficiently strong to carry the superstructure which has been imposed upon it. But, secondly, the existence of Cornish tends not merely to destroy the proof of the theory, but to disprove the theory itself. For if we find a dialect in Britain whose relation to Breton is one of identity when compared with the difference subsisting between either of those languages and Welsh, it is clear that the separation between Welsh and Breton, must be thrown back to a period indefinitely earlier than that between the latter language and Cornish. But as we cannot fix the latter event at a period subsequent to that which has been assigned for the former, the theory in question seems to be not merely groundless, but impossible.⁹

But the truth is that Mr. Wright has taken no account of Cornwall; neither has he taken any account of Cumberland, or of Strathclyde.¹ Indeed his letter to our

be referred to a much earlier period. It is fair to say that Dr. Prichard (*Physical History*, iii. pp. 168, 173) makes the same assumption as Mr. Wright as to the close resemblance of Welsh and Breton, and argues from it in the same way, but to a directly opposite conclusion, as he uses it as a confirmation of the tradition that Brittany was colonized from Great Britain. The objection urged in the text against Mr. Wright's theory, from the relation of the Cornish language to the Welsh and Breton respectively, it is obvious, does not affect Dr. Prichard's argument, as his supposed Breton migration need not have been from *Wales*. But Prichard is wrong in his facts, as he is when he says that Welsh and Irish "perhaps resemble each other as nearly as the English and German."—(*Ibid.* p. 52.) The apparent interval diminishes in proportion to the distance of the viewpoint.

⁹ Mr. Wright appears to rest some weight on the community of tradition between Wales and Armorica. He looks upon the legendary history of Arthur, as introduced from the latter country and localized in the former. But is not the contrary process an equally conceivable one? As for instance in the traditionary history of St. David, which was transported from Wales to Brittany, and there localized.—See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1857, pp. 249, 377.

¹ When this passage was written, I had not read Mr. Wright's

Journal in answer to Mr. Babington strongly suggests the idea that he had, to say the least, forgotten the existence of the Strathclyde Welsh altogether. Had it been otherwise, I think another objection might have suggested itself to him, which it is perhaps hardly necessary to urge now. His theory imposes on the small country of Armorica, which does not appear to have been exhausted by the effort, the colonization of almost the whole western coast of Britain, from Cornwall to the Clyde; while it supposes that a migration on so gigantic a scale has left no trace of itself in history or in tradition.²

The conclusion at which we have now arrived, as regards the main object of our inquiry, is purely negative. We have not learned where we are to look for the name of the Cymry; all that we have ascertained is that there is not sufficient reason for supposing that they brought the name with them into the island after the close of the Roman period in Britain. For results of a more positive character we must institute a further investigation. I do not know that I can do more than indicate in general terms the direction which such an investigation ought to take.

It will be impossible to consider thoroughly the name of the Cymry, altogether apart from the term by which the same people are certainly designated by the early mediæval historians, and, as I think, by ancient writers also;—I mean the greater name of BRITON. And these together must form the concluding subject of my inquiry. It is needless to say that the name of Britain is found in the earliest extant notices of the country. It is sometimes applied to the group of islands, but more usually and properly to the island which we inhabit. But, it may be asked, is the word originally local or ethnical? Did *Britannia* give its name to the *Britanni*, or the

letter in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1857, p. 390; to which I have alluded in a Postscript.

² To those who believe, as most competent judges do, in the genuineness of Gildas, the whole of this refutation will appear superfluous.

Britanni to *Britannia*? I believe both are true. I think the *Britanni* of whom history tells us, are, first, the inhabitants of Britain in general, and then distinctively the inhabitants of the Roman province, as opposed to the "outside barbarians" of the north; and thus at length the word became limited to the Cymry as their last representatives. But as the name of the country is clearly derived from that of a people, I think we must suppose the existence of a particular tribe which gave its name to the island, as the Sicels gave theirs to Sicily, a name which was subsequently extended to its other inhabitants. We must suppose that such a tribe came most into contact with strangers, and was consequently in occupation of the southern coasts, at some early date which we cannot now venture to fix.

The first external notice of the Cymry under that name is not earlier than the middle of the tenth century. In the year 945, the Saxon Chronicle informs us that "King Eadmund harrowed all Cumberland."³ But this implies that the English had long recognized the term as the proper appellation of the British population of that region. However, in the very earliest remains of Welsh literature the word is applied to the inhabitants of Wales itself.⁴ We may therefore assume that the people of Wales and Cumberland, and I suppose we may add Strathclyde, were strictly of the same race, and all called themselves by this common name.

It is to be observed, however, that the name does not appear to have been applied to the Cornish either by themselves or by any others. They seem to have called themselves by the local designation of *Cernewac*; and they were called by others *Welsh*, or *Britons*, like their kinsmen on the other side of the Severn Sea. If they had ever used any more strictly ethnical appellation, they had lost it. But it will be remembered that the Cornish

³ "Eadmund cyning oferhergode eal Cumbra-land."

⁴ I rely here on the authority of Mr. T. Stephens, who tells me that the word is found in its local or territorial sense in the *genuine* writings of Llywarch Hen and Taliesin.

language approaches much more nearly to the Armorican than to the Welsh, and indeed may be regarded as fundamentally identical with the former. Now the Armoricans are equally ignorant of the name of *Cymry*; they call themselves *Britons*, or in their own language *Brezounec*. This word, in a Welsh dress, would be *Brythonaeg*,⁵ and this is a word which actually exists. Its root, *Brython*, with other cognate forms as *Prydyn*, and *Brytannyeit*,⁶ is used loosely for the Britons generally, and for the Cymry as their last representatives. But it appears also to have a distinctive sense,⁷ as will appear from the document, if document it can be called, which I am about to quote.

I suspect that the true key to the problem is to be found in the well-known Triad, which enumerates the three kindred races of Britain, viz., the Cymry, the Lloegrwys and the Brython.⁸ I shall probably shock some of my hearers by quoting a Triad, as much as I shall shock others by apologizing for doing so. But I

⁵ The Welsh *y* is represented by *e* in Breton; *th* as well as *dd* by *z*.

⁶ This form invariably occurs in three copies of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, as the rendering of *Brittones* (i. e., "Welsh") in the *Annales Cambriae*. In the *Brut y Saeson* and the *Book of Basingwerk* its place is taken by the word *Cymry*, which never occurs in the other copies. This looks like an adaptation to the current language of the age. The three copies have one rather amusing blunder. The *Annales Cambriae* have the following,—(ann. 810)—"Mortalitas pecorum in Brittannia." This is rendered in the three copies, "Ac y bu uarwolyaeth ar yr anifeileit ar hyt ynys Prydein;" and, in the two, corrected thus, "drwy holl Gymmry."

⁷ The name of the Brython is retained in a place in Monmouthshire called Pentre-Brython. But it is not clear whether the word is used in the wider or in the narrower sense.

⁸ "The three Social Tribes of the Isle of Britain. The first was the nation of the Cymry, that came with Hu the Mighty into the Isle of Britain, because he would not possess lands and dominion by fighting and pursuit, but through justice and in peace. The second was the tribe of the Lloegrwys that came from the land of Gwasgwyn, being descended from the primitive nation of the Cymry. The third were the Brython, who came from the land of Armorica, having their descent from the same stock with the Cymry. . . . And these three tribes were descended from the original nation of the Cymry, and were of the same language and speech."

refuse to see the true historic temper either in the spirit which idolizes, or in that which ignores tradition; in that which treats it with the deference paid to an inspired record, or in that which treats it as if it did not exist. Surely tradition is a *fact*, which must be accounted for; an effect, which must have had a cause. The Triad before us exemplifies these remarks. I do not say that it gives us a true or complete account of the ancient ethnology of Britain: but I do say that it may point to a time when the names of Brython and Cymry, which were probably synonymous when the Triad was framed, had been mutually exclusive. And I will add that, except upon the supposition that the tradition has at least so much of foundation as this, it is extremely hard to account for its existence.

Further it is worthy of notice that the Triad speaks of these tribes as having arrived in the island in the order of enumeration, *i.e.*, the Cymry first and the Brython last. It is probable that as a history of the first colonization of the island the Triad is absolutely valueless. But if it is valueless historically, it may be valuable geographically. It may teach us, not the order of their immigration, but the positions which they severally occupied. It may suggest that the Cymry were spread along the western and north-western coasts, at the greatest distance from the continent of Europe, and that they *appeared as if* they were the earliest inhabitants of South Britain; and that the Brython, on the contrary, *seemed to be* the last comers, because they inhabited the southern coast.

Lastly, the Triad brings the Brython from Llydaw, *i.e.*, Armorica. The coming of that race must be assigned to a date transcending the reach of history, and probably of tradition also. But the fact of a close and apparent connection between the race in question and the people of Armorica, appears to be latent in the tradition, which may, indeed, have been intended as an explanation of it.⁹

⁹ It is worthy of notice that Bede brings the Britanni from Armorica. Of course the evidence of Bede, in such a question, is no better than that of the Triad. But it shows at least that the popular

Let it be observed that these suggestions coincide both with what we know and with what has been conjectured. We know that the Cymry occupied, speaking generally, the north-western region; and it has been conjectured that the Britons, who gave name to the island, were the inhabitants of the southern coasts. And we have seen already, that the Cornish Britons, the sole remnant of the Celtic inhabitants of the south, are most closely akin to the transmarine race who call themselves *Brezounec*, that is, *Brython*. Finally the insular Brython are connected, by tradition, as well as by their nomenclature, with the same people. So far all hangs together.

But now the old difficulty comes back. The name of *Cymry* is a modern name, and one of which we find no trace in ancient writers. It has been already stated that the native populations are designated either generally as *Britons*, or by the names of their respective tribes. For the name of *Cymry* there is no place found; and the name of *Briton* is not used in the limited sense assigned to it by native tradition. But perhaps the difficulty will vanish if we consider these races in what seems to be their true character, namely, as subdivisions of the same nation, speaking different dialects of a common language, and possibly marked by other distinctive peculiarities. Such distinctions might easily escape the notice of the Roman historians, who would naturally group them all together under the common name of *Britons*, while they would naturally and necessarily take notice of their political rather than their ethnographical divisions. The history of Greece presents a complete parallel. The ethnical distinctions of *Ionian* and *Dorian* underlie the political and local divisions, and only emerge occasionally when the feeling of kith and kin influences political combinations. Indeed the parallel may be carried further.

derivation of the name of *Britanny* from the supposed British immigration of the Roman or post-Roman era, was not adopted by those from whom Bede derived his information; as it had been found necessary to invent this origin for the insular Britons, by way of accounting for the name of the continental ones.

The Asiatic peoples spoke of the whole Hellenic nation by the name of *Ionians*, because the Ionians were the tribe with which they had most intercourse. I am inclined to believe that the name of *Britain* may have been applied to the whole island, and *Briton* to its inhabitants, by foreign nations, for exactly the same reason.

This may explain also why the name of *Briton*, assuming that it is not owing to a migration from this island, was, so to speak, latent in Armorica. It may have been their proper ethnical designation, recognized by themselves, but unknown to foreign writers, who confounded them under the common designation of Gauls or Celts.¹

I am hastening to a conclusion; but there are two or three points upon which I must touch very briefly. The *Lloegrwys*, one of the tribes mentioned by the Triad, are, by interpretation, the people of *Lloegr*.² But *Lloegr*, is at present the Welsh name of England. This is at least an additional proof that the Cymry regarded the people of south-eastern Britain, so to speak, *ab extra*. But probably enough the Triad is to be depended on, and *Lloegr* was originally applied to a portion of the island, lying between those occupied by the Cymry and the Brython respectively.

Of course I would not be understood to say that this account of ancient British ethnography is exhaustive. To say nothing of the Gaelic race which, as I believe, preceded the Cymry, and lay beyond them to the north and west,³ there may have been other tribes in the more

¹ The view of M. Amédée Thierry as to the origin of the name of *Briton*, appears to approximate to that which I have attempted to develop.—*Histoire des Gaulois*, i., Introduction.

² They are brought by the Triad from *Gwasgwynn* (i. e., Gascony) and the mouth of the Loire. It is of course possible that their name may be connected with that of the Loire; but it is also probable, and not inconsistent with that supposition, that the similarity of the names may have suggested the idea of their derivation from that source.

³ Of course Welsh tradition speaks of the Cymry as aborigines, as compared with the Gael. But this belief is contrary to geographical probability, and may be referred to a common principle of human nature.—See *Vestiges of the Gael*, p. 53.

accessible parts of the island,—whether Celtic, or Teutonic, or both, I do not now inquire.* Neither do I now stay to inquire how far foreign blood, Roman influence, and the Latin language had affected the south-eastern districts, or the towns. But I still maintain that there was a considerable Celtic element *somewhere*, and that it is this which is preserved in Wales.

Lastly, I would observe that the present terminology, according to which the Celtic race is divided into the two great branches of *Gael* and *Cymry*, is inconvenient, and calculated to mislead. The Bretons, as we have seen, who belong to the latter branch, do not acknowledge the name of *Cymry*; and there is no reason to suppose that the Cornish did. I should therefore propose to adopt the terminology of Professor Zeuss, who divides the Celtic languages into the two classes of *Gallic* and *Britannic*, the principle of division of course being the same.

W. BASIL JONES.

Clifton, August 15, 1857.

P.S.—In a letter to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October, 1857 (p. 390), published, consequently, after the foregoing pages were written, Mr. Wright raises a new issue, namely, as to the ethnology of Cumberland.

"I feel sure," he says, "that any one who has contemplated the remains of Roman occupation in Cumberland and Westmoreland must be convinced that no part of the island was so entirely occupied by the Romans as this district. And the reason for it is plain, for it was the part more especially exposed to the descents of the Gaels from Ireland, and the Caledonians from the North."

The "reason" seems to me to take the edge off the fact. The occupation of a frontier, designed for the protection of the interior, is not of that orderly and peaceful kind which is most likely to change the character of a people.

* Even the Triads contain notices of the existence of various alien populations in Britain. The precise signification of these notices, it would be impossible now to determine.

Mr. Wright argues, moreover, that the Celtic inhabitants of Cumberland, being within the territory of the Brigantes, were probably Gaelic, as Brigantes were found in Ireland also.⁵ I confess the force of this argument, at the same time that I consider it to be at least neutralized by the derivation of the name of the country. Mr. Wright calls this derivation "questionable." Be it so. Yet it is no more evident that the Brigantes of Ireland and the Brigantes of Britain were kindred tribes, than that the Cumbri of the North and the Cymry of Wales were so.

Further, Mr. Wright thinks that the "Cumbrian kingdom of a later period was itself a temporary occupation by foreigners." He thinks that it was, with the exception of Carlisle (still, as he supposes, Roman) occupied by Angles in the time of Bede. This rests upon a single passage in that historian:—

"Venit ad Lugubaliam civitatem quæ a populis Anglorum corrupte Luel vocatur."

"Bede [says Mr. Wright] gives us clearly to understand that it was corrupted into 'Luel,' not by the Celtic inhabitants of Cumbria, but by his own countrymen the Angles."

The italics are mine; but the words which they distinguish are a gloss of Mr. Wright's. Bede says nothing about the inhabitants of Cumbria: he was writing for Angles, and simply wished to identify the place to their apprehension. If I were to say "*Colonia Agrippina*," which we call in English *Cologne*," the words would not be taken to imply that the inhabitants of Rhenish Prussia called it *Cologne*, still less that they spoke English!

"I need hardly say," Mr. Wright adds, "that this (*Luel*) with the prefix of *caer*, which may easily be accounted for, gave origin to its modern name."

I wish Mr. Wright *would* account for it, for I cannot

⁵ I have always suspected that the name of a branch of the Irish Brigantes is preserved in that of Brychan Brycheiniog, the tutelary saint and eponymous hero of Brecknockshire, who was, according to the legend, of Gaelic origin. I am afraid to say more, as I may have some of my Brecknockshire friends among my readers.

upon his hypothesis, as *caer* is not Gaelic, and still less English. I must leave to abler hands than mine the task of defending Aneurin and Llywarch Hen.

I feel that I may incur the charge of audacity for entering the lists against Mr. Wright, who is armed with a knowledge of early mediæval history and antiquities such as few men in England possess. Neither do I regret, that he has thought fit to test the foundations of the ordinarily received belief with regard to the origin and history of the Welsh nation. Yet I confess that I should feel better satisfied with his method of argument if he had condescended to give the annals and even the legends of that people at least a hearing. Let them be thoroughly cross-examined; but at all events let them come into court.⁶ I know how easy it is, when an opinion has passed long unquestioned, to throw oneself into the opposite scale, to bring out into strong relief all the objections to it, and perhaps unconsciously to ignore the evidence in its favour. But the historian must always recollect that he is a judge, and not an advocate.

W. B. J.

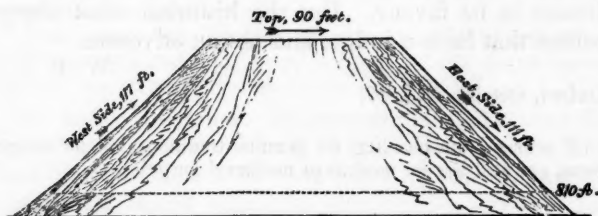
Oxford, October 21, 1857.

⁶ Of course I am pleading for genuine traditions, not for modern guesses, and still less for modern or mediæval forgeries.

THE GOP, OR Y GOPA, TUMULUS—FLINTSHIRE.

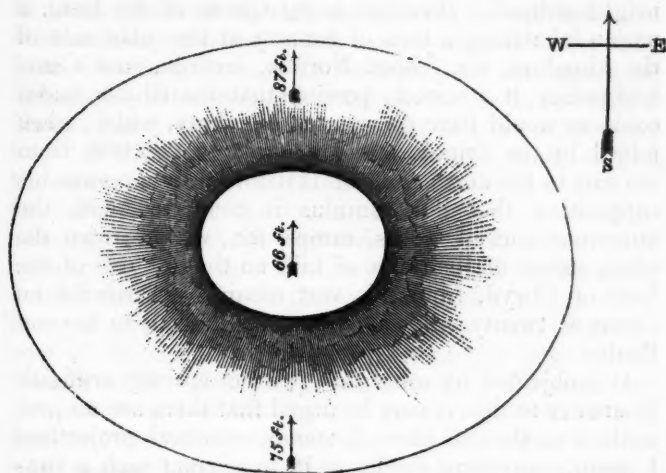
THIS tumulus, which is one of the largest and most remarkable in the kingdom, is situated in the parish of Gwaenysgor, about a quarter of a mile from the village of Newmarket, and forms an interesting termination to the long line of camps, circles, &c., on the Clwydian range of mountains.

It will be seen, from a glance at the engraving, that the tumulus is very much larger every way than the one at St. Weonard's, described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of July, 1855. It is called by different names,—Gop, Gop-Paulinus, Gop-y-Goleuni, and Gopporlenni,—this last a corruption evidently of one of the above names. A member of our Association, whose opinion is valuable in these matters, visited it some time since, and thinks Gop-y-Goleuni the most probable.



The mound is composed of earth, small stones, and rubble, in about equal parts. The crater at the top, if such a term is allowable for a tumulus, is composed of loose small stones; the sides are covered with grass, except on the south, where there are more stones visible than on the other sides, for this reason I believe, because, some years ago, a portion of that side was carried away to mend roads. Viewed on the north side the outline is very regular, the top appearing quite flat, and the sides sloping evenly down. It is on this side (the north) somewhat higher than on the south, on account of the inclination of the mountain.

I do not say the measurement of the engraving is quite correct, but it cannot be very far from the actual measurement. What the actual height is from the ground I do not know, but the sides facing north-west and east slope nearly at an angle of 45 degrees. The south side is not so steep, and the outline of the top of the south side is not good, owing to the above-mentioned reason of stones, &c., having been carted away. It covers considerably more than an acre of ground, and must contain many thousands of cubic yards, tons of earth and rubble.



It is, I believe, the largest tumulus but one in Britain. An attempt was made some years ago to open it, but, owing to the immense size of the tumulus, the work was abandoned without proceeding any depth into it.

Various conjectures have been made as to its origin and probable date, but they are mostly unsatisfactory. The reason assigned for it in Parry's *Royal Progresses* is "that it is funereal, and made to cover the ashes of the thousands slain in the great battle between Boadicea, the British queen, and Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman

general."¹ This can scarcely be entertained, as Boadicea was Queen of the "Iceni." He also ventures the assertion, because, he says, "no spot has yet been assigned for the battle fought between Boadicea and Suetonius Paulinus, where 80,000 Britons are said to have been slain; and because in no part of the country are there so many tumuli so close together as in this neighbourhood, the numbers being thirty and upwards." In size they cannot any of them be compared to the one under notice.

It is at least very improbable that this great battle between the Romans and the Britons was fought in this neighbourhood. Boadicea being Queen of the Iceni, a nation inhabiting a tract of country at the other side of the kingdom, viz., about Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, it is scarcely possible that the British queen could or would have transported her army, which, when joined by the Trinobantes, amounted to 200,000, from the east to the north coast of Britain. It is a reasonable supposition that this tumulus is connected with the numerous ancient works, camps, &c., which crown the whole extent of the range of hills on the east side of the Vale of Clwyd, from this vast mound of earth for an extent of twenty miles and more up the vale to beyond Ruthin.

It is objected by some that it is not entirely artificial. In answer to this, it may be urged that there are no projections on the hill where it stands,—natural projections I mean,—anything similar to it, to warrant such a supposition. There is nothing in the formation of the mountain itself to lead any one to suppose that any part of this vast mound of earth is a natural formation.

It is on the summit of rather a flat mountain, or, more properly speaking, on the flat ridge of the hill. The mountain slopes away from it immediately on the north and south sides, but on the east and west, which may be termed the crest of the ridge, the mountain does not slope away till you get about a hundred or more yards from

¹ We are sorry to find our correspondent quoting Parry's book, a work of no authority whatever.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.

the base of the tumulus. It is clearly an artificially raised heap on the ridge of the hill. It interrupts the natural line of the hill as much as a mole hill does the natural line of a meadow. Not having been disturbed, like some of the smaller ones in agricultural districts, its outline on the north side is as sharp and clean as it was centuries ago. Though the largest, it is the most perfect in shape I ever saw. Its form is oval.

Running east-south-east from this place, Newmarket, and commencing about half a mile from the tumulus, is a large dyke. I have traced it for about three miles. In some places it is very perceptible, in others much obliterated by cultivation. It runs parallel with the road from Newmarket to "Yr Orsedd," in the parish of Whitford. It is wrongly termed, in this locality, "Offa's Dyke." If it continued in a straight line, it would strike into "Wat's Dyke," somewhere above and to the east of the town of Holywell. I am not of opinion that it is in connection with the "tumulus," as I have traced it running westward in the direction of Henfryn, and passing the tumulus. At this place, Henfryn, are some most curious remains, viz., complete circles. These have more the appearance of druidical remains from the smallness of the circles, and the lowness of the surrounding fosse of earth. As an abler pen than mine has described the vast range of fortifications on the Flintshire hills, I will merely add that this locality is full of archæological interest, and a great portion of it has never yet been scientifically explored.

If the view from St. Weonard's tumulus is very extensive, that from this great tumulus is magnificently grand. Five, if not the six, of the North Wales counties are visible, with Cheshire, Lancashire, and part of Derbyshire. Southward, the Flintshire range, and the whole panorama of the Arvonian Alps.

R. H. JACKSON, M.A.

If reference be made to *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Second Series, vol. v. p. 86, it will be found that I mentioned the

Gop in the list of Early British and Prehistoric Remains in Flintshire, and expressed an opinion that it was probably a beacon station of great national importance. As the next Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at Rhyl, in its immediate neighbourhood, the Gop will no doubt be visited by members, and they will thus have an opportunity of examining this most remarkable tumulus, so well described by our Local Secretary. At the same time, the other remains in that neighbourhood will be, it is to be hoped, thoroughly explored. The suggestions thrown out in this paper about the name of *Offa's Dyke*, as applied to a long line of trench and mound in that neighbourhood, I purpose noticing in a future communication upon various points connected with that great work of demarcation, which are not yet by any means settled.

H. L. J.

BRECKNOCKSHIRE TRADITIONS, &c.

IN an early Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, some suggestions were thrown out for the collection and preservation of local customs and traditions, by their publication in our Journal. The proposition was, that the clergymen of the different Welsh parishes, and other gentlemen, should be invited to collect all the information they were able as to the peculiar customs and traditions of their respective localities. The plan seemed a feasible one; but I have looked over the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* in vain for many such contributions. The misfortune is that such an undertaking, which was perfectly easy thirty or forty years ago, is becoming daily more difficult, and in many cases impossible. The old people are dying off, and their old stories with them; for the Welsh peasantry rarely commit to paper any of their legendary lore; and, with the

establishment of schools, the progress of the English language, and the enlightenment of the present age, the belief in fairies, corpse candles, and such like remnants of the dark ages, is fast disappearing. The traveller may now pass from one end of the Principality to the other, without his being shocked or amused, as the case may be, by any of the fairy legends or popular tales that used to pass current from father to son, a few years ago, among the Welsh-speaking population. It has always appeared to me that the customs and traditions of a country are valuable in an historical point of view, and deserve to be preserved; and that this is especially the case in Wales, as these same old stories, customs, and traditions shadow forth its state prior to the irruption of the Norman lords and their numerous and nondescript retainers and followers. For however much the Welsh aristocracy may have adopted the Norman customs, alliance, and language, even in the present day the peasantry of Wales, after the lapse of so many ages, retain, in a great measure, their ancient language and national peculiarities, so that they must evidently have been debarred from all intercourse with the Norman lords, the conquerors of a great part of their country, and their numerous retainers. It would, indeed, be a curious subject for inquiry, how far the influence of those powerful barons extended beyond the immediate vicinity of their respective castles? In South Wales, Radnorshire alone has become almost exclusively an English-speaking district. This is not the case, in the same degree, with either of the other counties, although in these, much more than in Radnorshire, agencies are at work in the shape of schools, the influx of numbers of Englishmen, and the prevalence of large towns, and a trading population, to introduce the English language. Is there any other cause to account for the prevalence of the English language in Radnorshire, except the constant intercourse of its inhabitants with the numerous barons, and their Norman and Saxon retainers, settled in various parts of that county? It would appear well worth the

labour if some inquiry were made as to any peculiar local customs and traditions of Radnorshire, and especially in the New Radnor district, in order to ascertain whether the inhabitants do not more nearly resemble their neighbours the English, than the Welsh, in those peculiarities and distinctive marks which serve to characterize a people. Radnorshire was the great scene of border warfare for many ages, and was probably nearly depopulated in its struggles for freedom; it is not, therefore, unlikely that a great many of the retainers of the Mortimers, and other powerful lords, became possessed, by degrees, of the fertile parts of the county, and married among its ancient inhabitants, and thus by degrees introduced the English language into the middle of the county, from whence it has spread so completely, that in only two parishes is Welsh at all spoken.

For some years I lived at Ystradgynlais, a parish on the confines of Breconshire and Glamorganshire. Whilst there I amused myself by collecting all the old stories and traditions of the neighbourhood, occasional notices of which I purpose to send to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. As remnants of a past age they are interesting. Many of the customs seem crude, and almost suited to savage life; but, seventy or eighty years ago, the state of Wales was very different to what it is now. Railroads, and the improvement of common roads, have opened districts almost unheard of before; while social intercourse and the new police have rendered unnecessary such a clumsy machine as the wooden horse for keeping a turbulent wife in order. These old stories and customs are mere matters of memory. If any one desires to follow my example, let him begin at once and record the result of his researches in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, which will, by these means, form a record of the ancient customs and traditions of Wales, as it already does of its monumental antiquities of various kinds.¹

¹ We hope that this hint will not escape the notice of members, and that it will be acted upon. Traditions are of greater importance than is supposed.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.

MAEN Y GWEDDIAU—THE STONE OF PRAYER.

On the Ordnance map, about three or four miles north-east of Coelbren Chapel, among the mountains, Maen y Gweddiau is marked. It is on an open hill, called the Thousand Acres, which is, I believe, private property, and is nothing more than a single flat stone, one of the landmarks between the parishes of Ystradgynlais and Ystradfellte, on which the rector of Ystradgynlais, when perambulating the boundaries of the parish, used to kneel and read prayers to those who accompanied him—hence it is called the Stone of Prayer. The custom has always been observed on every occasion of walking the boundaries, which used to take place every seven years. I could not learn anything as to the origin of the custom, but it is undoubtedly very ancient.

PURDAN—PENANCE.

Any woman having more than one illegitimate child, or being pregnant of a second, was compelled to walk with her paramour, if known, up the church during the hours of Divine service, covered with a white sheet. This custom prevailed both at Ystradgynlais and Llywel about seventy years ago. I have the name of the last person subjected to this punishment, which fixes the date at about that time.

CEFFYL PREN—THE WOODEN HORSE.

The wooden horse was, as its name implies, a construction of wood with poles to carry it. If a virago outraged propriety by striking her husband, or caused a disturbance by her family quarrels, the wooden horse was brought out by the youths of the village. Two boys, one dressed as a woman, with a broom, the other as a man, with a ladle, were mounted upon it, and elevated on men's shoulders, were paraded in procession before the cottage of the irate lady. No violence was offered; but my informant, an old woman of ninety-six, told me that she had often seen the wooden horse used, and with great effect, as quarrelsome women had a great dread of its appearance.

The wooden horse was also called into requisition in cases of adultery; but, on these occasions, either the delinquents themselves, or persons dressed to represent them, were carried round the neighbourhood in procession.

These customs prevailed in the parishes of Languic and Kil y beyll in Glamorganshire, and in Llywel and Ystradgynlais in Breconsire, as well as in other parts of South Wales. As, however, I intend these notices to refer more particularly to Brecknockshire, where I can certify as to their existence, I leave it to other members to speak of their own local traditions.

THE PARISH COFFIN.

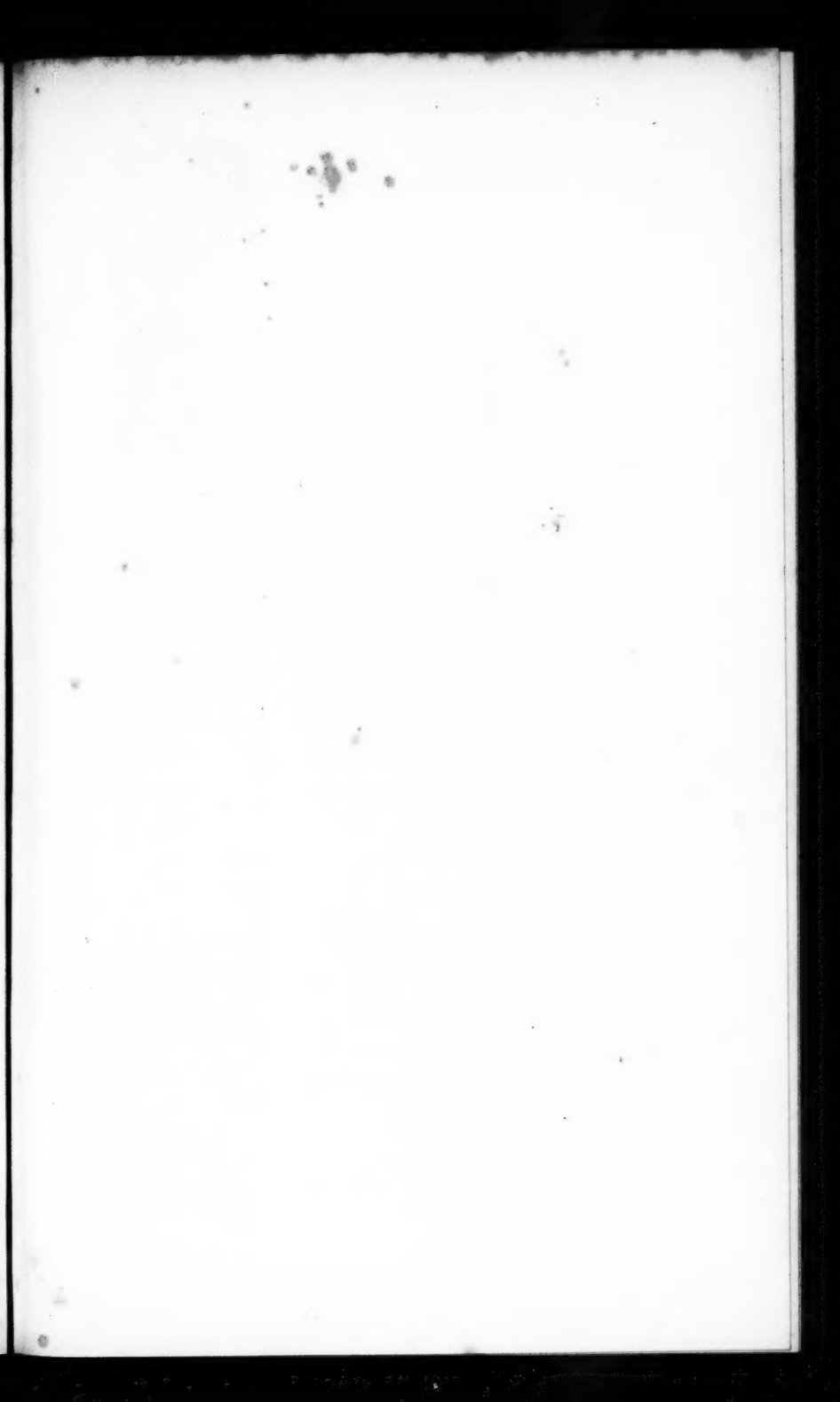
All paupers in the parishes of Llywel and Ystradgynlais, until about ninety years ago, were buried without a coffin. The parish coffin was kept in the church porch, and was sent to the house of any deceased pauper. In it the corpse was conveyed to the church-yard; but when the funeral service had been performed, the coffin-lid was taken off, the corpse was lifted out and placed in the grave, after which the parish coffin was restored to its old quarters in the church porch, until it might again be required. The following extract from the Terrier of Ystradgynlais, dated October 14, 1739, proves the custom up to that date, at least:—"Clerks fees. There is one shilling due to the clerk for digging every grave with coffin, but without there is but sixpence due." The parish coffin of Ystradgynlais became decayed in the year 1769, and was deposited by the parish authorities in the grave, with the corpse of the pauper it contained. Since that period a coffin has been used at every funeral, as in other places. I add a statement of the expense of burying this particular pauper, from an old book belonging to the then overseer of the poor of the parish of Ystradgynlais:—

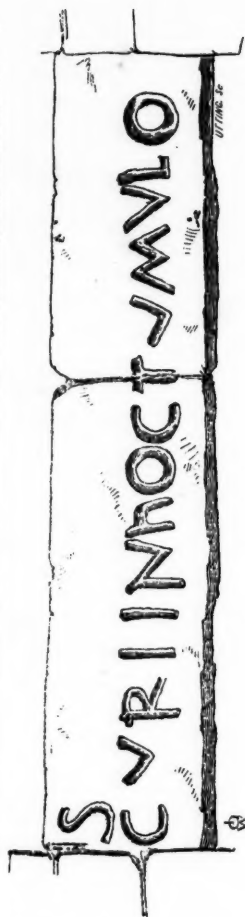
April, 1769—Charge towards burying J. J.		s.	d.
Journey to his House		0	6
Also digging a grave.....		1	0
Also shrowing him.....		2	0
Also burying him.....		1	0
Also ale for carrying the Bier, & carrying the corpse to be buried ²		2	6
Also for pins, Candles, thread, bords, &c.		1	0
Also for 5 yds $\frac{3}{4}$ of flannel		4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Also to his wife		0	3
		12	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

LLYN FAN—THE CAERMARTHENSHIRE VAN POOL AND ITS
FAIRIES.

Formerly numbers of persons of both sexes used to visit Llyn Fan, on the night preceding the first Sunday in August, in the expectation of seeing a host of fairies make their appearance. These were supposed to dwell among the mossy rocks which surround that small but beautiful lake, and to skim over its ripples in their mazy dances. The belief in the existence of fairies was very general in the district. The rings often seen on

² The distance was about seven miles, which will probably account for the ale.

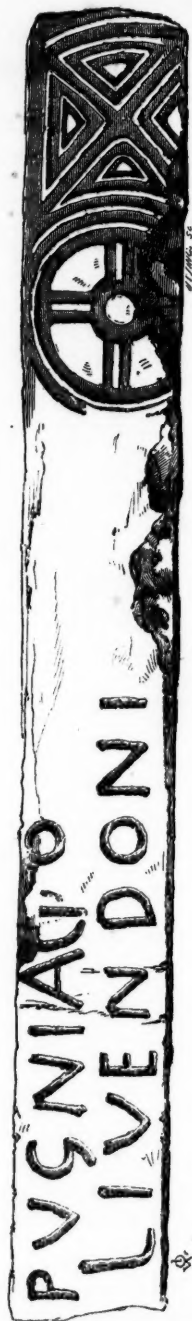




Abercer, near Merthyr Tydfil.



Merthyr Tydfil.



Devynock.

old pasture land in summer, were supposed to be caused by the movement of their nimble feet, as they tripped round, hand joined to hand, in merry revelry. Sweet musical sounds were attributed to them; and so great was the fascination of the Tylwyth-teg, or fairies, that no mortal, once within the ring round which they danced, could ever escape from their power. No evil that I could learn was originated by them. The only mischief they were accused of doing was the keeping, in perpetual bondage, any luckless individual they succeeded in catching—in good truth, a very lady-like amusement. An old man told me that, when crossing the Caermarthenshire hills fifty years ago, he was attracted by hearing the sound of sweet music in the distance. On approaching the spot from whence it appeared to come, he saw the Tylwyth-teg, or fairies, in appearance like little ladies, dressed in white, dancing in a ring. Much frightened at what he saw, this valorous knight turned tail and fled; but, subsequently, recovering his courage, he returned to the spot, and found that the little ladies had finished their revels without him, leaving no trace behind. The Van Pool, like most other Welsh lakes, is said to cover the site of an ancient town, the buildings of which may be seen at sunrise, on the first Sunday in August, by a favoured few, but at no other time. Langorse Pool, near Brecon, is supposed to cover the remains of an ancient city; and the legend runs that, on a calm day, the cathedral bells may still be heard chiming forth in solemn peal beneath the waters.

W. J. W.

Brecon, January, 1858.

FURTHER NOTICES OF THE EARLY INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED STONES OF WALES.

I HAVE the pleasure of communicating to our members some illustrations of three early inscribed stones, which, so far as I believe, have never hitherto been figured, nor even satisfactorily noticed. I fear that they will not add greatly to the elucidation of the early history of the Principality, two of them, unfortunately, being in that condition which does not allow of so much use being made of them as might have been at one time.

I.—THE ABER CAR STONE.

In one of my visits to Brecknockshire, I was anxious to discover, if possible, and to read, the Vaenor stone, figured in Gibson's *Camden*, from a drawing by Humphrey Llwyd, (in whose time it was used as a cross in the highway road, eleven miles from Brecon, inscribed with a † of the Latin form, with the words, as read in Gibson, **In nomine d(e)i Sum(m)i ILUS** or **†-ILUS**, in letters similar to those used both in Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries). Jones, indeed, (*Brecknockshire*, ii. p. 623,) states that he was not able to discover it, neither was the late Taliesin Williams able to give me any information concerning it; so that, hoping against hope, I started to the neighbourhood indicated by Gibson and Llwyd,—without, however, being enabled to obtain any information respecting it from the residents in the immediate vicinity; so that I fear it is irrevocably lost, and we are left to conjecture only as to what might have been the last word of the inscription. But my visit brought to light another stone of the Roman period, which, at the period of my visit, formed the lintel of an ox-stall or beast-house on the west side of the road from Brecon to Merthyr, about a hundred yards north from the thirteenth mile-stone from the former place. The adjoining farm-house abuts on the turnpike road, on the south side of a small rivulet, and a long barn and cow-house close adjoining are on the north side of a small brook which crosses the road.¹

The stone has one end built into the wall, so that the beginning of the inscription containing the name of the person whose burial was intended to be celebrated is hidden, and the stone is cracked across the middle of the doorway, (the inscription being on the under side of the stone,) so that probably by this time it has given way, and the stone lost. At all events, I hope some one in the vicinity will make proper inquiries respecting it, and

¹ I am particular in giving this locality, having by experience found the use of such details, for want of which I have made several unsuccessful rambles in my different visits to the Principality.

extricate it, should it still be found. The visible part of the inscription is as follows :—

**S
CVRI IN HOC TVMVLO**

The letters, as will be seen from the accompanying wood-cut, are tolerably good Roman capitals, with the exception of the **h**, which is of the minuscule form, the **U** is always written as **V**, and the **M** with its first and last strokes oblique, or splaying outwards beneath.

II.—THE MERTHYR TYDFIL STONE.

In one of the angles of the church of St. Tydfil (the parish church of Merthyr Tydfil) there is inserted at a considerable distance from the ground an inscribed stone, of which the accompanying wood-cut gives a representation. It commences with an ornamented **+** of the Latin form, placed longitudinally, followed by an inscription in rather rudely formed minuscule letters, such as are found in Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS. of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. They appear to me to represent the name

artbeu

Respecting the second of these letters, which might be thought the most difficult to be deciphered, I have not the least doubt that it is intended for a **r**, which in many of our earliest manuscripts has the first stroke elongated below the line, and the second stroke deflexed, sometimes even so much as to resemble a **p**; the fourth letter appears to me to be a **b**, and the last a **U** of unusual form. It is proper, however, to observe that, from the position of the stone, I was not able to make a rubbing of it; but as the day was very clear when I examined the stone, and the letters brought out well in relief by the sunlight, I had no difficulty in making a clear drawing, which has been since confirmed by the examination of rubbings made by Mr. Longueville Jones. As to the person intended to be commemorated in this inscription, we may notice first that he was a Christian, as shown by the sacred emblem prefixed to the name; and, secondly, that the inscription

must have been executed a considerable period after the departure of the Romans. Mr. Stephens, indeed, at the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1853, in a paper on the Antiquities of Merthyr and its Neighbourhood, published in vol. iv. p. 319 of the Second Series of our Journal, gives it as his opinion that it commemorates Arthen, a brother of St. Tydfil. The Rev. W. Basil Jones, on the other hand, supposes that although Artgen, or Arthen, was the son of Brychan Brycheiniog, yet as there were others of the same name, it is doubtful whether it be intended for the individual in question. The fact, however, that this inscription should even still be found forming part of St. Tydfil's Church (having probably been intentionally placed there when the former church was destroyed) is in favour of Mr. Stephens' suggestion. It may be also stated that a small stone in the church-yard of Llanspyddid, of great antiquity, bearing a small Maltese cross in a circle, with four smaller circles on the outside, and one in the centre in the middle of the stone, is traditionally regarded as the grave-stone of Brychan Brycheiniog.

III.—THE DEVYNOCK STONE.

Passing Llanspyddyd, on the road from Brecon, we soon arrived at the village of Devynock, where an interesting inscribed and ornamented stone of a very early period is inserted in the south-west angle of the tower of the church. It is at a considerable height from the ground, but I was fortunately able to make a good rubbing of it, which has been reduced by the *camera lucida* to the accompanying figure. It is placed upside down, so that the ornamental details occur at the right side of the inscription, instead of forming a representation of the cross, either of the Latin or Maltese form, ordinarily placed at the beginning of the name.

Of the upper line of the inscription I can only clearly make out the letters **VGNIA** followed by what appears to be **CIO**, but the last three letters are nearly effaced. The second line is clearly **LIVENDONI**.

The letters are, for the most part, tolerably good Roman capitals. The G in the top line is however of the uncial form, whilst the L at the beginning of the second line is unusual, from having the bottom angle rounded so as to resemble an upright minuscule *l*. The remainder do not require notice. The ornamental details represent two crosses with equal limbs, both of rather elegant design, although it is to be regretted that the stone-cutter, in order to fit the stone to its required position, has chiselled off part of the pattern on one side. This, however, is not to be wondered at in a district where the mutilation of sepulchral slabs has been carried on to such a disgraceful extent as I have nowhere ever witnessed.

I must leave the question as to the person commemorated in this inscription for the Welsh antiquaries to determine. I suppose, however, that Livendonus was the father of the person named in the upper line. Perhaps some of the early genealogies would clear up the point.

J. O. WESTWOOD, F.L.S.

Taylor Institute, Oxford,
January 15, 1858.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE BUHEZ SANTEZ NONN.

THE *Legend* of Ste. Nonne, and of St. David her son, is indisputably Welsh, and the Abbé Sionnet, without hesitation, attributes the *Mystery* to the same source. He supposes the original of the latter to have been composed in [Cambro-]Breton prior to the twelfth century, (Preface, pp. xxviii., xxix., xxxvii., &c.) and that the Dirinon MS. was transcribed, about the end of the fourteenth, or the commencement of the fifteenth century, not directly from the original *Mystery*, but from some intervening copy, and then collated with different other transcripts.

Certain parts are set down by him as interpolations,

and amongst them the *Ave Maria* (Preface, p. xliv.; *Mystery*, p. 55). Now the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, *voce* "Angelus," says:—

"The Angelus was instituted by John XXII. in 1316, and introduced into France under Louis XI.—Lafaye, in his *Annales de Toulouse*, tells us that the *Ave Maria* was instituted in 1475."

This would bring the Dirinon manuscript down to the end of the fifteenth century.

In pp. 51 and 53 of the *Mystery*, St. Gildas summons his flock to the *Feast*, and to the *Pardon*. The latter word seems to have been, at first, employed to mark the *Indulgences* accorded on certain feasts, or jubilees. Thus, in 1340, the *Grand Jubilee*, instituted by Boniface VIII. in 1300, is called the *Grand Pardon*. This is the earliest example we have been able to discover; but our opportunities of information are necessarily scanty, and there may be more ancient authority. The editor of the *Buhez* makes no remark on the word. It is now universally employed, in Lower Brittany, to indicate the *Patronal Feast-day*—thus, "The Pardon of Dirinon."¹

The inquiry as to date seems to possess some importance. A Cambrian linguist will detect any peculiarities of language which may point to a Welsh original of the *Mystery*. The frequent repetition of the word *Island*, in describing the scene of the *Buhez*, may afford ground for an inference, and is in nowise applicable to Armorica.

If the *Mystery* was originally composed in Cambro-Breton, and at the early date assigned to it by the Abbé Sionnet, it may prove to be the most ancient mystery,

¹ Should any devout traveller from Morlaix to Brest make a halt at Pont-Christ-sur-Elorn, between Landivisiau and Landerneau, he will find there one of the most beautiful little vignettes that can grace a sketch book. On entering the chapel, he may read that "quarante jours de *Pardon à perpétuité*" await all those who shall visit the chapel, "par dévotion," on the 9th May, the anniversary of the dedication in 1581, the date moreover of the Indulgence. On the opposite side of the road will be found the Great Pond of Brézal, in the centre of which rose the island of "Ar-Ganerez-Mor," or the Songstress of the Sea, the Fairy Morgana.

or drama, in a *vulgar tongue*, hitherto discovered. We hazard this surmise, in consequence of what we have read in a very interesting work, published in 1837, by Hachette, Rue Pierre Sarrazin, Paris, and entitled,—

“Études sur les Mystères, Monumens historiques et littéraires, la plupart inconnus, et sur divers MSS. de Gerson, y compris le texte primitif Français de l’Imitation de J. C. récemment découvert par Onésime Le Roy.”

M. Le Roy informs us that the early Mysteries were in *Latin*, and that when, at a later period, endeavours were made to place the principal subjects of Christianity within reach of the people, through the medium of the different European idioms which now began to be formed, recourse was had to these models. “Hence,” says he, “that family likeness which exists between the Mysteries throughout Europe.” He supposes them to have been continued in Latin till towards the middle of the thirteenth century.

“Nothing in *these Mysteries*,” he remarks, “depicted the manners of the times in which they were written, for they were composed by the Monks, who, in general, followed with scrupulous fidelity the text of Scripture. According to M. Villemain (*Tableau de la littérature au Moyen-Age*), and M. Chas. Magnin (*à la Faculté des Lettres—Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st December 1836),—the modern Drama in Europe originated from, and almost simultaneously with, the Liturgies and Ceremonies practised in the Churches and Convents. In the 5th and 6th centuries, Liturgies relating to Christmas and the Feast of the Kings were already common. In the latter figured the Star of the Magi. Under the second race in France, the same Feasts formed the subject of dramatic solemnities in the Churches.”

As regards the people, these would seem to have been mere scenic representations, speaking to the eyes and not to the ears; for Latin could not have been understandable to the commonalty. This appears farther on.

M. Le Roy informs us that, amongst the most ancient and the most remarkable Latin dramas, are those of Hroswith, a German nun of the tenth century. They were represented by her co-religionist sisters. The *Société des Bibliopoles* has published many of the Latin mysteries.

It was supposed that the drama in the *vulgar tongue* did not exist prior to the fifteenth century, until M. Le Roy discovered, in the Bibliothèque Royale,

"A Manuscript in 8vo. written upon Vellum, containing, amongst songs and metrical pieces composed by the Trouvères of the North, a Tragedy or Comedy, a Drama, entitled, *Le jus de S. Nicolai*—le jeu ou drama de S. Nicolas—with the name *Jehans Bodiaus* at the end, and evidently composed by him about the year 1260. The Prologue [in the style of that of the *Buhez*] relates the Miracle of St. Nicolas, Bishop of Myra in Lycia in the 4th century, and terminates thus:—'For, what you shall see will be the exact representation of the miracle which I have just made known to you. Be silent and you shall hear.'"

The *Spectacle Mysteries*, as distinguished from the *Dramatic* or *Spoken Mysteries*, appear to date from the very earliest antiquity, and have been continued down to the present day, not only in the religious processions and pomps to which M. Le Roy alludes, but also in the popular exhibitions which will be noticed hereafter.

For a while, the Revolution annihilated not only the dramatic mysteries, or miracle plays, but also the religious processions or pomps. The latter have been restored,² but the former only partially so, and in mute representation, thus reducing them to mere *spectacles*.

M. Le Roy describes some of the representations as occupying many days. He refers to one at Valenciennes in 1547, which ran out *twenty-five days*, under the direction of a certain Roland Girard, "Clerk of the *Béguinage*, in the said town, and fashioner, by his rhetorical art, of all the said twenty-five days."

One of the most striking features in the *Buhez* is the *naïveté* and innocent simplicity with which all the details are represented and acted. To say nothing of the scene with King Kereticus, we have the accouchement of our

² Much curious information on the processions and pomps of heathen antiquity will be found in Monfaucon's *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, and in the great French work on Egypt, describing a procession sculptured on one of the temples at Thebes. The *Magasin Pittoresque* for 1836, p. 179, describes a very remarkable procession at Aix, on the Fête-Dieu, in the fifteenth century.

Sainte reproduced before "all the parish," as gravely as if it had been a royal "putting to bed."³ It must not be supposed, however, that this is characteristic of Cambria or Armorica alone. It was common to all the countries wherein Mysteries were represented. In the "Baptism of Clovis," says M. Le Roy, Queen Clotilda is actually delivered of her child on the stage. The queen calls upon the midwife—*La Ventrière*—and the following dialogue takes place:—

Clotilda—I feel pain enough, by my soul:

My friend, in me is neither laugh nor gaiety.

Help me, sweet Mother of God,

By your grace.

La Ventrière—My dear Lady, in a brief space

Will you of your grievous pains be delivered.

Say not that I am drunk; (ne dites pas que je soie yvre)—

Suffer yet awhile must you,

I see that without fail will you be

Within an hour delivered.

Clotilda—God! when will it be? too long delays

This relief to me to come—

I pray you to remember me,

Virgin Mary.

La Ventrière—But now, struggle no longer, sweetheart;

Lady, your heavy pains are passed.

Ask what child you have,

You will do better.

Clotilda—(On hearing that she has a son)

Lay me in my bed conveniently,

Then take you this my son,

And have him made a Christian—

It is my will.

So textually were the scenes represented, says M. Le Roy, citing another writer, that

"The gushing of the blood (in the Crucifixion) is generally produced by means of an outre, or leather wine-bag, placed

³ For some account of the Breton Theatre, see the *Bulletin Archéologique of the Association Bretonne*, iii. pp. 32-51, and particularly p. 33, where is an extract from *Giraud de Barry* (Giraldus Cambrensis), the Welsh dignitary of the twelfth century. See also pp. 77-89 of the same volume, on "Breton Comic Poetry."

under the actor's robe, and whence, by reason of the pressure of the lance against the side of Jesus, spurts a purple liquid, which may be taken for blood.

"Even decapitation took place on the stage, where appearances were substituted for the reality. In the *Martyre de S. Pol*, is the following note: 'The head takes three leaps, at each of which a fountain [of blood] gushes out. In a Mystery of S. Denis the Saint quietly takes his head in his hand, and walks off with it.'

"Not only were the Mysteries generally composed by the Priests, but the principal parts were performed by them. Thus in the *Mystère de la Passion* at Metz in 1437: 'God was personified by the Seigneur Nicolle, curé de S. Victour de Metz, who was almost dead upon the Cross, but was succoured, and consented that another Priest should be attached to the Cross to complete the personification of the Crucifixion for that day. And another Priest called Messire Jean de Nicey, enacted Judas, and was almost dead with hanging, for his heart had ceased to beat, and he was unhung in all haste and carried away.'"

There exist in the Bibliothèque Impériale, at Paris, manuscript mysteries, with illuminated margins, "giving an exact idea of the extent and disposition of the theatres at this period [the Middle Ages]. We see at a glance, Hell, Paradise, Nazareth, Jerusalem, &c."

The Mysteries are still represented—but merely as dumb spectacles—in the *tableaux vivants*, exhibited at great fairs, and during the interval between Christmas and the Carnival in the large towns. Many of the scenes are taken from the great masters, and the costumes, &c., are well preserved. We have attended at two of these mysteries, one representing scenes in the life of the Holy Virgin, and the other, *Le Chemin de la Croix*. The latter was really imposing, and had a great run. The Descent from the Cross, after Guido, and the Massacre of the Innocents, were very striking. The personages were represented by living actors, and the parts were well sustained. The Mystery concluded, there was a great rush to the pantomime which followed on the same stage, the person who had represented Christ now taking the part of harlequin.

Each act was introduced by a *Prologuer*, who explained briefly the scene represented, much in the style of the prologue to the *Buhez*, and that of *Le jus de S. Nicolai*.

Since the article on the Tomb of Ste. Nonne was written (see Vol. III. p. 249), we have looked into the grand Topographical Map of France, by Cassini, published upwards of a century ago. We there find what appears to be a chapelry, bearing the title *Quartier de S. David*. It is situate on the right bank of the *Guer*—the river of Lannion and Loguivy-les-Lannion—and appears to be in the commune, either of Tonquedec, or of Pluzunet, at about three leagues above Lannion, and four leagues above Loguivy-les-Lannion. Not more than a league from Lannion, and on the left bank of the *Guer*, is laid down a chapel of St. Patrice (Patrick.) We have a notion that there *must* be some legendary or other tradition attached to these different localities; but, spite of all our efforts, we have hitherto been unable to procure the slightest information, either respecting *Loguivy-les-Lannion*, *St. Patrick's Chapel*, the *Quartier de S. David*, or *Loguivy-Plougras*—all in the Côtes du Nord, and almost in a line—save the meagre details already noticed in Vol. III. p. 257. However, now that the two Associations, the Cambrian and the Breton, have fraternized, we hope that some Breton archæologist will take up the inquiry.

M. de la Villemarqué, in speaking of the Breton Theatre, (*Bulletin Archéologique*, iii. p. 33,) says that, according to Giraud de Barry, (Giraldus Cambrensis,) the Bretons [Cambro-Britons?] were, from time immemorial, accustomed to celebrate the feast of their national saints with [theatrical] representations. He cites from De Barry the following description of one of these solemnities, in honour of Sainte Almeda:—

“A crowd of people annually assemble, from far and near, at this Feast: during its celebration one thing struck me particularly:—Within the church, without the church, in the churchyard, all round the churchyard, men and maidens dance hand in hand, and perform all sorts of evolutions, prostrating themselves,

rising up again, and seeming quite beside themselves. They then address themselves to all kinds of labour, representing before the people different handicrafts and trades: one conducts the plough, another urges on the oxen with his voice and goad, or, in order to while away his hour of rest, sings a song; a third acts the shoemaker, a fourth the currier, the weaver, or the spinner. The representation concluded, they become themselves again, and enter the church, where they depose their offerings on the altar of S^t Almeda. And by the mercy of God, after these representations, great numbers of sinners are converted and become penitent."

These and similar practices appear to have continued in Lower Brittany, and indeed throughout catholic Europe, down to the time of the Revolution, or nearly so.

Cambry avers that in 1765, or 1766, he was eye-witness of a dance in the chapel and church-yard of a small place in Brittany, near Brest. He adds that he remembers well having frequently seen performed, in Brittany, what were called "Danses de passion," in which Polichinello represented the character of the Maker of Wooden Shoes. The Drunkard, the Fool, Love, Anger, and the different conditions of society, such as the Blacksmith, the Wrestler, the Sailor, the Gardener, &c., were also represented in pantomime.—*Voyage dans le Finistère en 1794*, p. 216, Souvestre's Edition.

Thus also the "Dance of Death" was performed in the church-yards.

R. PERROTT.

ERRATA.

No. XI., JULY, 1857.

P. 249, l. 12, *for* Faou, *read* Faou.

P. 255, l. 12, *for* stones, *read* stone.

P. 252, l. 32, *for* Forest, *read* Forêt.

P. 258, l. 25, *for* Kerdicus *read* Kere-ticus.

P. 254, l. 15, *for* plant, *read* plank.

In page 255, the paragraph commencing "We are glad," and ending "il. pp. 65, 66," should have been placed in p. 256, immediately after the phrase commencing, "This is the simple history," and ending, "after the same process."

No. XIII., JANUARY, 1858.

P. 51, l. 32, *for* an, *read* a.

P. 62, l. 24, *for* with, *read* without.

P. 52, l. 18, *for* jests, *read* gests.

P. 63, l. 4, *for* Saint, *read* Sainte.

P. 58, l. 12, *for* oculus, *read* oculos.

P. 64, l. 18, erase the bar between pure and city.

THE CELTIC AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES OF THE LAND'S END DISTRICT OF CORNWALL.

By RICHARD EDMONDS, Junior, Esq.,

Secretary for Cornwall to the Cambrian Archæological Association.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROMAN AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES.

Roman Coins discovered in Mines, Barrows, &c.—Roman Camp and Roman Antiquities found therein—Inscribed Stones in St. Hilary, St. Erth, St. Just, Phillack, Madron and Gulval—Christianity, when introduced—Amphitheatre in St. Just—Sepulchral Monuments in Truen and Drift.

WE pass now from the prehistoric to the Roman period.

Norden remarks that the Romans "took their turn to search for tin, as is supposed by certain of their money found in some old works renewed."¹ Leland says that at Treen, in St. Levan, was found a brass pot full of Roman money. In 1723 some small brass coins were found in an urn in Kerris in Paul. Carte, in a note to his *History of England*, observes that, in the beginning of the last century, many Roman coins were discovered in barrows in Ludgvan, amongst which were some of Claudius, Nerva, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, L. Verus, Lucilla and Faustina. In Towednack also, eighty Roman silver coins were found in 1702 (as Mr. Tonkin relates), beneath a buried cromlêh, by the side of an urn full of ashes; some of them were of Valentinian I. and Arcadius: and Carew states that he had a brass coin of Domitian, found in an old tin work.² An urn of Roman coins was discovered in Morvah, in 1789.³ At Boscaswell, in St. Just, Borlase mentions having heard from his father "that some workmen removing a bank had found near a hundred Roman coins. Antoninus Pius was very plainly to be read on some of them." In the same parish, says Mr. Buller, the copper coins of Carausius "are frequently

¹ *Speculi Britanniae* pars. p. 12.

² See Drew's *Cornwall*, i. pp. 368, 369.

³ *Ibid.* ii. p. 497.

found.”⁴ In draining the Marsh, near Marazion, an earthen pot was found, containing nearly a thousand Roman “copper” coins of the emperors who lived between the years 260 and 350.⁵ In 1825, another vessel of coins, some of bronze, and others of brass, was discovered, in removing part of the eastern cliff to make the causeway across the estuary of Hayle. It was of pure copper, and contained some thousands of small coins of very rude manufacture, many of them bearing the names of Tetricus and Victorinus, usurpers in the time of the Emperor Gallienus, about A.D. 260. Mr. Carne⁶ supposes they were coined by the Romans not far from the spot where they were discovered, the remains of a Roman camp, in the estate of Bosense, being about two miles from it.

This Roman camp, or what now remains of it, forms part of a field, half of a mile north-east of Relubbus, on the northern side of the road from thence to Leeds Town. The path from the village of Bosense to St. Erth Church passes through it. Although situated on a gentle eminence, it commands, on every side, a very extensive prospect. Its form (so to speak) was rectangular, with the *internal* angles rounded off, the *external* corners being of much greater strength than the rest of the embankment, and occupying proportionally more ground. Its length is about 50 yards, its breadth 45. This is the only decidedly Roman camp of which there are any remains in the Land’s End district: for the Romans generally had no occasion to form new camps here, as most of our hills were already well fortified.⁷ Within this enclosure a well was discovered, about a century since, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and 36 feet deep, with holes hewn out in its sides capable of admitting the human foot, and serving as a ladder. The well (which was dry,

⁴ Buller’s St. Just, pp. 80, 81.

⁵ Drew’s Cornwall, ii. p. 331.

⁶ Transactions of Geological Society of Cornwall for 1825, p. 136.

⁷ At Godolphin, about half a mile from this camp, an urn was found in 1779 filled with Roman copper coins.—Drew’s Cornwall, i. p. 369.

and had been filled in) contained two Roman vases, or *pateræ* (one with, and the other without handles); also a large jug (*præfericulum*); a millstone, 18 inches in diameter, ("such as, without any material difference, is still used in the islands of Scilly,") and two stone weights. The *pateræ* and jug were made of tin. Borlase, from whom I gather these facts, has given an engraving of the camp, the jug, and the patera without handles⁸ (which last much resembles the stone vase found at Kerris-vean, fig. 5 of plate prefixed to Chapter V.) The bottom of the patera, on the inside, is flat, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and bears in a circular line a rude engraving, consisting of a mixture of Greek and Roman letters, which Borlase reads thus "*Livius Modestus Driuli filius Deo Marti.*" This fort, which was evidently "a fixed garrison, and not a temporary fortification," "is situated in a direct line leading from Truro to Mount's Bay and the Land's End." And Borlase adduces it, with the Roman antiquities found in the well, as a fresh proof "that the Romans came into Cornwall, conquered it even to the very extreme parts, and had all the appendages of victory as ways, forts, garrisons, and resided here as governors in the same manner as they did in the other parts of Britain."⁹

Of the ancient inscribed stones in this district, the only one decidedly Roman formed part of a wall of St. Hilary Church, ($4\frac{3}{4}$ miles east-by-north of Penzance,) before it was taken down to be rebuilt in 1853. It is now placed in the west wall of the walk leading from the church-yard gate to the church porch. The stone, which was taken from a neighbouring quarry, is very roughly hewn, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and nearly a foot thick. The inscription originally occupied ten lines. Fig. 1 is a correct copy of the legible part of it. The first of the ten lines is now effaced. In the second line there were, apparently, two or three letters after the *u*; and, in the

⁸ This patera and the jug were deposited in the Museum Ashmoleanum at Oxford.

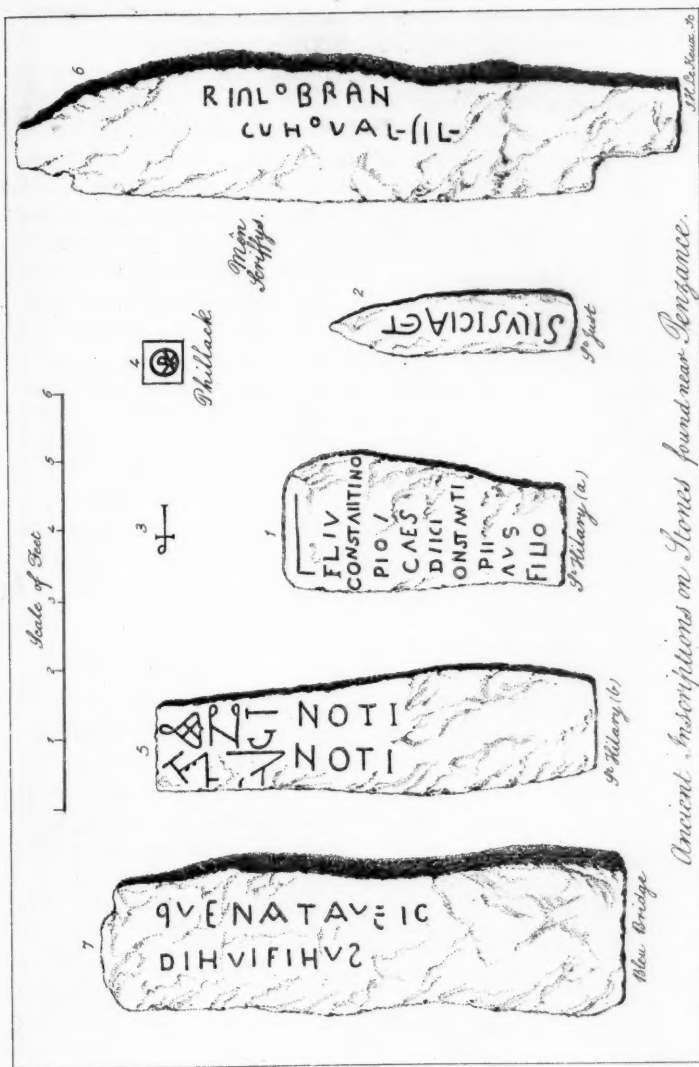
⁹ Antiquities, (Second Edition, 1769,) pp. 316-319.

fourth line, a word appears to have followed *pio*. In the third line, the last two Ns are less distinct than the other letters, and the cross stroke of the second N is absent. The letter A also, whenever it occurs, is without its cross. Omitting, therefore, the first line, and the latter word of the fourth line, the words at length would be,—*Flavio Julio Constantino pio Cæsari duci Constantini pii Augusti filio*; “To the Commander, the pious Flavius Julius Constantine Cæsar, son of the pious Constantine Augustus.” Some read the sixth line as *Divi*, instead of *Duci*; but had it been *Divi*, it would not probably have been followed by *Pii*. Flavius Julius Constantine, to whom the stone is apparently inscribed, was the eldest son, by the second wife, of Constantine Augustus, or Constantine the Great. He was declared Cæsar A.D. 317, the year after his birth; and A.D. 335, received from his father, Gaul, Spain and Britain, as his portion of the Roman empire. After his father’s death, A.D. 337, he was proclaimed emperor; and three years afterwards was killed in the war between himself and his brother Constans. I imagine, therefore, that this inscription to the younger Constantine was made between A.D. 335 and 337, during his father’s life; for, after his father’s decease, he would have been called Augustus, as the senate and Roman soldiers had declared him Emperor Constantine II.

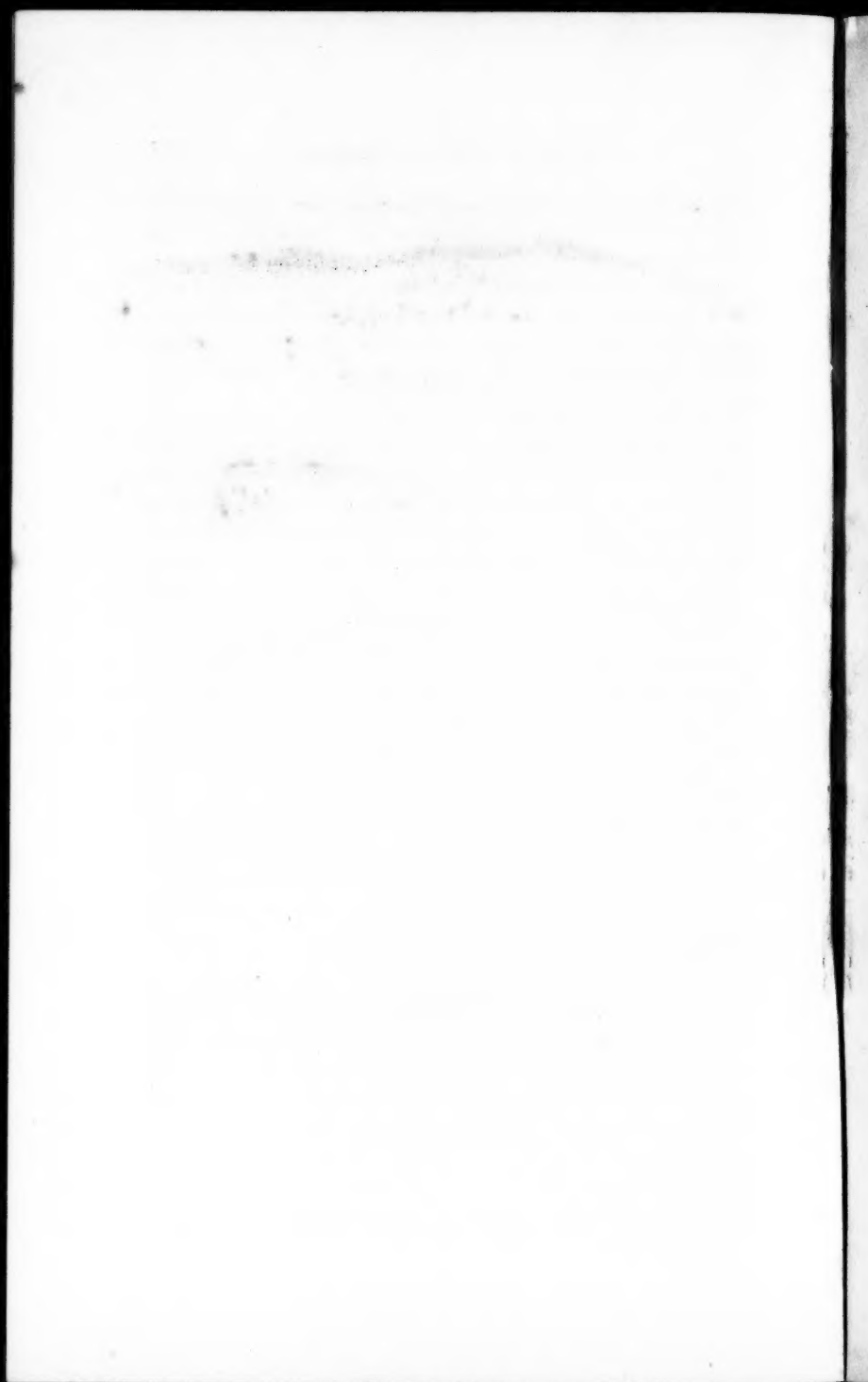
The parish of St. Hilary was, in *Doomsday Book*, (says Hals,) taxed under the name of Lanmigall, (Michael’s Church,¹) and its earliest church, or chapel, was, in all probability, anterior to that of any other in the kingdom; for in this parish is St. Michael’s Mount, which was dedicated to religion as early at least as the fifth century.² The destruction, by an accidental fire, of the late old church of St. Hilary, with all its ancient carvings, and the tablet containing a copy of King Charles’ letter “to the inhabitants of faithful Cornwall,” occurred on the 25th of March, 1853, which was Good Friday, as well as Lady-day, and (what was equally remarkable at this

¹ Davies Gilbert’s *Cornwall*, ii. p. 169.

² Borlase’s *Antiquities*, p. 351; and Polwhele’s *Cornwall*, i. p. 66.



Ancient Inscriptions on Stones found near Penzance.



time of the year) during an intensely cold night, while its roofs were covered with snow. The tower, with the spire erected on it, was the only portion that escaped destruction. The old church is now replaced by a handsome edifice of the early Middle-Pointed Gothic style, agreeing with the architecture of the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the old tower, which still remains, is supposed to have been built.³

The place where this stone, when inscribed, was originally fixed, and the occasion of the inscription, are matters only for conjecture. In the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1857, a writer on Cornwall says:—

“It is scarcely possible to doubt that this western region was the seat of a flourishing Christian community, which ignored Roman tradition and discipline, kept Easter after the Greek fashion, and derived its distant origin from that oldest mother of Churches, the patriarchal seat of Jerusalem.”—p. 318.

Amongst the many proofs of this, I may notice the fact that nearly all the most ancient crosses in Cornwall are Greek crosses, and the greater number of them have had Latin crosses subsequently carved upon them. This I learn from two clergymen, who have made the subject their study. That some of the Apostles preached in the “British islands” we gather from Eusebius; and that St. Paul preached here was the opinion of Bishop Stillingfleet.⁴ Others maintained that Bran, the father of Caractacus, (Caradog,) (accompanied by four others ordained by St. Paul,) first introduced Christianity into Britain; Bran having been detained at Rome as a hostage all the time that St. Paul was there, so that he had ample

³ This was probably about A.D. 1313, when, by “the confirmation of the endowment to the vicar, the dead of Marazion were for the first time allowed, from the danger of passing with them to the Mount, to be buried at St. Hilary.”—Drew’s *Cornwall*, ii. p. 331.

⁴ Origines Britannicæ, pp. 36-43. If St. Paul visited Britain, his first landing-place may have been St. Michael’s Mount, the ancient Iktin; for how (says Sammes in his *Britannia*) could Britain receive the gospel at that early period “but by sea? because so many nations as interpose by land could scarce be passed by; and if by sea, no place so likely for it to set its first foot in as Cornwall, by reason of its Mediterranean trade for tin.”—(Quoted in Buller’s *St. Just*, p. 22.)

opportunities of being instructed by the Apostle in the Christian faith.⁵ Assuming, therefore, that numerous churches, including one in St. Hilary, had been built in this island during the first three centuries, and that all these churches, as well as those in the rest of the Roman empire, were destroyed during Diocletian's persecution in the beginning of the fourth century, it is probable that soon afterwards, when Constantine the Great embraced Christianity, this church, amongst others, was rebuilt, and the stone may have been then engraved, and placed in the new church by that part of Constantine's army then stationed at the Roman camp already described, which was only two miles distant. And if Constantine's eldest son had received Britain for his portion of the Roman empire at the time of the completion of the church, his name would, doubtless, have been inscribed rather than his father's. Some centuries afterwards, when the church became dilapidated, and was again rebuilt, this stone (which is far from being ornamental) might have been used as common building material.

The only other inscribed stone in this district that bears on its face any indication of its age, is that found at Hayle, in St. Erth, in December, 1843, in one of the sides of the moat of an ancient cliff castle at Carnsew. It is 6 feet long, a foot wide, and 8 inches thick. It had fallen from its erect position, and was lying horizontally at the depth of about 4 feet from the surface, immediately beneath a thin stratum of sand. On the north of it was a grave, 6 or 8 feet long, lying east and west, excavated in the ground beneath the sand, and walled with unhewn stones placed on their edges, over which other stones were laid as a covering. This grave was filled with a mixture of sand, charcoal and ashes, and entirely covered with a loose heap of stones, the top of which was considerably beneath the surface of the soil.

For the preservation of the monument, the late Mr.

⁵ Williams' *Ancient British Church*, (1844,) pp. 53-55. Smith's *Religion of Ancient Britain*, (1844,) p. 149.



HIC
CEM
REQVIEVI
CVNATDO
HIC
IVM
IACLI
VIXIT AN
NO
XXXIII

Hayle.



Harvey fixed it upright (near the spot where it was discovered) in the wall of his new driving road, where it may now be seen, 45 yards west of the private bridge over the West Cornwall Railway, near the western end of the Hayle viaduct. The stone and its inscription are correctly given in the plate before us. The T at the end of the third line is without its cross. The second line was probably the name of the deceased, but the latter part of that line is illegible. In the fourth line we look for the date of the person's birth, or death, as in no other part does any trace of a date appear. CV. NAT. D^o, therefore, may have been intended as abbreviations for "*Qui natus quingentesimo*;" *cu* representing *qu*, (the letters *c* and *q* being used indifferently by many Latin authors,) NAT standing for *natus*, and D^o for *quingentesimo*.⁶ The epitaph, unabbreviated, would then read as follows:—*Hic Cen requievit qui natus est quingentesimo hic tumulto jacet vixit annos triginta tres.* "Here Cen fell asleep, who was born in 500—here in the tomb he lies—he lived 33 years." In this reading the repetition of the adverb *hic* presents no difficulty; in the former instance, it clearly refers to the place where the person died; in the latter, to his grave.

It would thus appear that the deceased departed this life, A^o Dⁱ DXXXIII^o.⁷ Now, in the former part of the sixth century, during Arthur's reign, there were, in Cornwall, "some remains of Christianity, and some struggles of a few Britons, assisted by the Irish saints, to preserve it; whereas in Somersetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire and other places overrun by the Saxons, the Saxon paganism had absolutely obtained."⁸ In memory, therefore, of some distinguished Christian who died here more than half a century before the mission of Augustine, by Pope Gregory the Great, this stone may have been inscribed. It is

⁶ In Leland's *Itinerary* we find the final *o* still retained—thus, "A^o. Dⁱ. MCXXIX^o."

⁷ The computation of time by the Christian era was first adopted, according to some authors, in 507; according to others, in 527.

⁸ Borlase's *Antiquities*, p. 338.

worthy of remark that the first three letters of the partially effaced name are the first three letters of *Cenor*, one of the names of "a great town now gone," ("two miles from Ryvier,"⁹) in the adjoining parish of Lelant, whose church is the mother church of those of Towednack and St. Ives.

An inscribed stone, more ancient perhaps than the foregoing, was discovered in a wall of St. Just Church, in 1834. It is $3\frac{2}{3}$ feet long, 1 foot wide, and 10 inches deep. Its upper surface has a groove running round the greatest part of it, near the edge, with a cross in the centre, 8 inches long, of which fig. 3 is a correct representation. On one of its sides is inscribed, "*Silus ic jacet*," the letter *e* in *jacet* being made by adding a horizontal stroke to the preceding letter *c*. Fig. 2 is a copy of the inscription. Mr. Buller imagined Silus to have been one of the early British bishops before the mission of Augustine. This stone, and the capital of an ancient pillar, which had evidently supported an arch of some former church, "were in the wall as common building stones." It "is now placed in the wall on the north side of the altar. The capital before mentioned supplies the place, on the south side of the altar, of the broken *piscina*, which was there discovered behind some old wood-work, when the chancel was taken down in 1834." This very old chancel was dedicated, as appears by the registers in the archives of Exeter Cathedral, by Bishop Grandison, on the 13th July, 1336, the same day with the church of Madron; St. Paul's having been dedicated on the 11th, and Ludgvan Church on the 14th. The church which existed there previously is noticed in the taxation of 1254, and "had stood on the same site long enough to have become ruinous."¹

About 100 yards west-by-north of this church are the remains of a very ancient amphitheatre, the most remarkable monument of the kind that Borlase had seen,

⁹ D. Gilbert's *Cornwall*, iv. p. 265.

¹ Buller's *St. Just*, p. 21.

and of which he has given a description, with a plate, in his *Antiquities* :—

“It was an exact circle of 126 feet diameter; the perpendicular height of the bank, from the area within, now 7 feet; but the height from the bottom of the ditch without, 10 feet at present, formerly more. The seats consist of six steps, 14 inches wide, and 1 foot high, with one on the top of all, where the rampart is about 7 feet wide. The plays they acted in this amphitheatre were in the Cornish language, the subjects taken from Scripture history.”—p. 196.

This amphitheatre, which had benches of stone, has now almost wholly disappeared.

An inscribed stone, as old perhaps as the last, formed one of the foundation stones of the late church in Phillack, until it was taken down to be rebuilt in 1856. It is $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, and now stands outside the wall of the “vestry,” in the south-eastern corner of the church-yard, but the inscription appears to be illegible. A small stone was then also discovered, forming part of the walls of the same church, and bearing a rude engraving of the monogram represented by fig. 4, being the first two letters of ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, with the symbol of eternity around them. The diameter of the circle is about 5 inches. This stone may now be seen in the wall of the new church porch, directly over the apex of the arch of the doorway.

Another inscribed stone, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, formed part of the foundation of one of the walls of St. Hilary Church, and was found there at the same time with that inscribed to Constantine II., already noticed. The inscription is longitudinal, consisting of two lines, each beginning with what appear to be symbolic characters, and finishing with the word NOTI, as in fig. 5. The symbolic characters of the upper line are very different from those of the lower, although they are in each case followed by NOTI. In neither line is the letter N the pure Roman capital, with a diagonal cross stroke; but, in the first line, the cross stroke deviates towards a horizontal one, and, in the second line, it approaches still nearer to a horizontal stroke. It is now placed close to

the church-yard gate, on the right hand side of the walk leading to the church porch.

The above monuments have been discovered since Dr. Borlase published his *Antiquities of Cornwall* in 1754. Of those known in his day, the most ancient, as he considered, was the *Mén Scriffys*, "the inscribed stone," in Madron, a quarter of a mile south-west of the top of Carn Galva, a high and most remarkable hill, with two heads, the eastern side of which is very precipitous. Borlase has given a drawing of it, from which fig. 6 is taken, and which I believe to be correct, although I have not compared it with the original, the present position of the stone not admitting of the inscription being read. It is $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, $1\frac{2}{3}$ wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick; the inscription at length would be *Rialobranus Cunovali filius*; "Rialobran, the son of Cunoval."² "In this monument (says Borlase) the cross stroke of the Roman N is not diagonal, as it should be, nor yet quite horizontal, (as it is observed by the learned to be under the sixth century,) wherefore I think it highly probable that this inscription was made before the middle of the sixth century." He also argues that "it was written before the Roman alphabet was corrupted, that is, before the letters were joined together by unnatural links, and the down strokes of one made to serve for two, which corruptions crept into the Roman alphabet (used by the Cornish Britons) gradually after the Romans went off, and increased more and more till the Saxon letters came into use about Athelstan's conquest."³ But this corruption of the Roman characters is no argument of the inscription being subsequent to the departure of the Romans, for stones have been found inscribed to the usurper Tetricus,⁴ about A.D. 270, wherein

² The next parish to that where the monument lies is called Kynwall, (or Cynval,) according to the old orthography, though now corruptly pronounced Gylval, as Lhuyd observes in his *Archaeologia Britannica*, p. 253.

³ *Antiquities*, p. 358.

⁴ Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, (1844,) p. 106.

this kind of corruption is seen to a much greater degree than in any of the inscriptions above noticed.

The other inscribed stone, of which Borlase has given an engraving, and of which fig. 7 is a correct representation, served in his time as a foot-bridge in the valley of Barlowena, (Bleu Bridge,) exactly half of a mile west of Gulval Church. It now supports an iron rail by the side of the bridge. It is $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, $1\frac{3}{8}$ wide, and one foot thick. "This inscription (says Borlase) cannot be so old as the former, for here are two sorts of the letter N, the first true Roman, the other as used in the sixth century, that is, as the Roman H. There are three dashes at the end of the name instead of one: the second I in *filius* is linked to the L, and the S is inverted. The cross stroke in the A is not straight, but indented."⁵ In words at length it would run *Quenatavus Icdinui filius*.

In this and the second chapters all the ancient stones marked on the map have been noticed, except the two-stone sepulchral monument at Truen, in Madron, and the much larger two-stone monument, probably also sepulchral, at Drift, in Sancreed. That at Truen is in a field adjoining the south side of the road from Penzance to New Bridge, and within half of a mile of the latter place; the stones are 10 feet apart, in a line east-north-east and west-south-west, and between them was found, about a century ago, a grave, containing a black greasy earth. "The grave (says Borlase) came close to the westernmost and largest stone, next to which I imagine the head of the interred lay." The other two-stone monument consists of two huge unshapen pillars, standing north-west and south-east, the one 9, the other 7 feet above ground, and 18 feet apart, one of the pillars being in a field adjoining the south-east side of the road from Penzance to the Land's End, and about a furlong south-west of the "four lanes' end" at Drift.⁶ These uninscribed monuments are probably more ancient than the inscribed stones above noticed.

⁵ Antiquities, p. 359.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 176.

LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE.**No. II.**

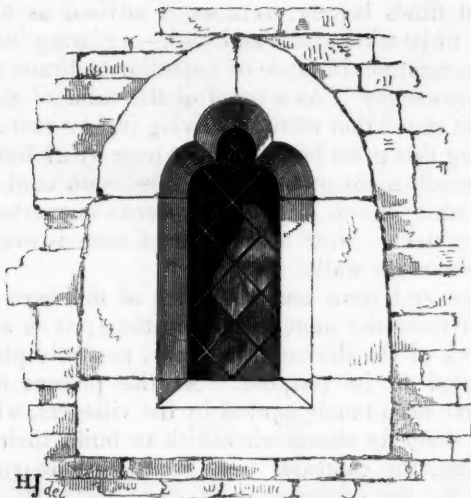
CLOSELY connected with the church of Llantwit Major are several buildings belonging to the ecclesiastical establishment of the place. On the south side of the church-yard, and abutting on its present wall, is a house of two stories, standing north and south, which contains niches and doorways of the fourteenth century. It was not very long ago used as a mill, for a small stream now covered over runs under it; but it has the appearance rather of a dwelling; and, from its immediate proximity, may have been occupied by some ecclesiastical personages attached to the church. This building has a chimney at the south end, which indicates habitation; whereas the chamber over the south porch of the church does not possess this indispensable article of comfort, though no doubt that room too was occupied by one of the clerics.

There are traces of buildings called collegiate, and a small portion of what is said to have been a cloister in a garden adjoining the whole extent of the northern wall of the church-yard. It was from some spot in this direction that one if not both the ancient incised stones, now erect on the northern side of the church, were carried to their present position.

Mr. Parker has adverted to the remains of buildings adjoining the north-west angle of the church; but they are so devoid of any architectural detail, and are so much altered by recent repairs and additions of walling, that it is hard to pronounce concerning their date.

In a field on the rise of the hill towards the west and north-west of the church-yard, numerous remains of buildings have been found, and Dr. R. Nicholl Carne has proved the existence of various substructions all over this portion of the rising ground. If there be any truth that here a monastic or collegiate establishment once existed, we may consider that these remains indicate the position of some of the buildings. There is strong probability in

the supposition; and we are inclined to accept the concurrent voice of local tradition, which says that here the college of Llantwit Major formerly stood. Some buildings or other of importance must have been situated on this rising ground, because the gate-house that gave entrance to them still remains in good preservation, and we have illustrated it by an engraving.



Dormer Window, Gate-House, Llantwit.

This, as Mr. Parker has remarked, and as will be at once perceived from the details, is an erection of the thirteenth century. The gateway is now blocked up and occupied as a cottage; but, within, the vaulted roof is quite strong and good. Over it is a chamber to which access was had by a flight of stone steps at the west end, external to the building, entering by a doorway with a triangular head, and jambs plainly chamfered. This is an interesting specimen of domestic work of that period, of the same date as the earlier parts of the church; and it is much to be wished that it could be thoroughly repaired

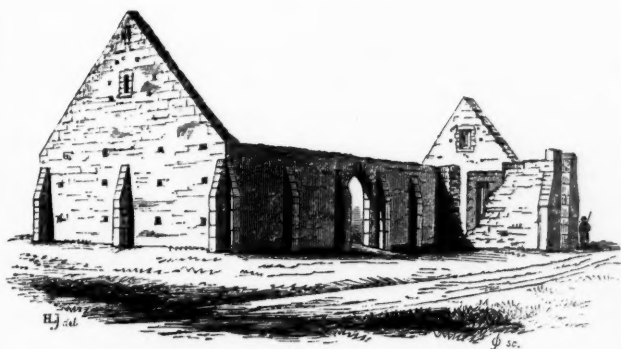
—not restored—by its liberal owner, and properly tenanted.

On the flat ground of the hill immediately south of this gate-house stands the ancient monastic, or tithe barn, a vast pile, also of the thirteenth century. Not many years ago it was covered with its fine oak roof, in excellent general condition; but, at the time of the tithe commutation, the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, to whom the great tithes belong, were so ill advised as to allow this roof to be taken down and sold,—a glaring but by no means uncommon instance of capitular bad taste and ignorant parsimony. As a proof of the value of the tithes it may be stated that men now living in Llantwit remember seeing this great barn, 122 feet long by 27 feet broad, and as much more to the ridge, filled with corn closely packed, while eleven large wheat stacks encumbered the adjoining field. Now not an ear of corn is ever to be found within the walls.

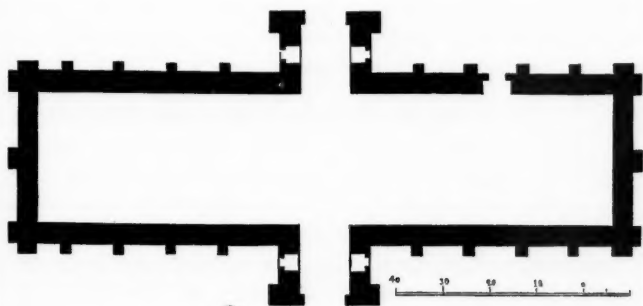
The general form and character of the barn will be observed from the annexed illustrations; it is all good solid work of the thirteenth century, perfectly plain, but well suited to its purpose. At the present day the walls have been much injured by the villagers, who have pillaged them for stones wherewith to build their houses and fences, the capitular body mentioned above caring nothing for the dilapidation of their property. It has lately passed into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; but, unless the walls can be repaired, a roof put on, and the building appropriated to some living purpose, it will every year fall more and more into decay.

South of the barn stands the dove-cot belonging to it, a circular building, with a roof constructed with overlying circles of stone. If this building is of the thirteenth century, then the roof has great archæological value; and from the solidity of its construction, as well as its circular form, it is fitted to last much longer than the stately old barn which it so nearly adjoins.

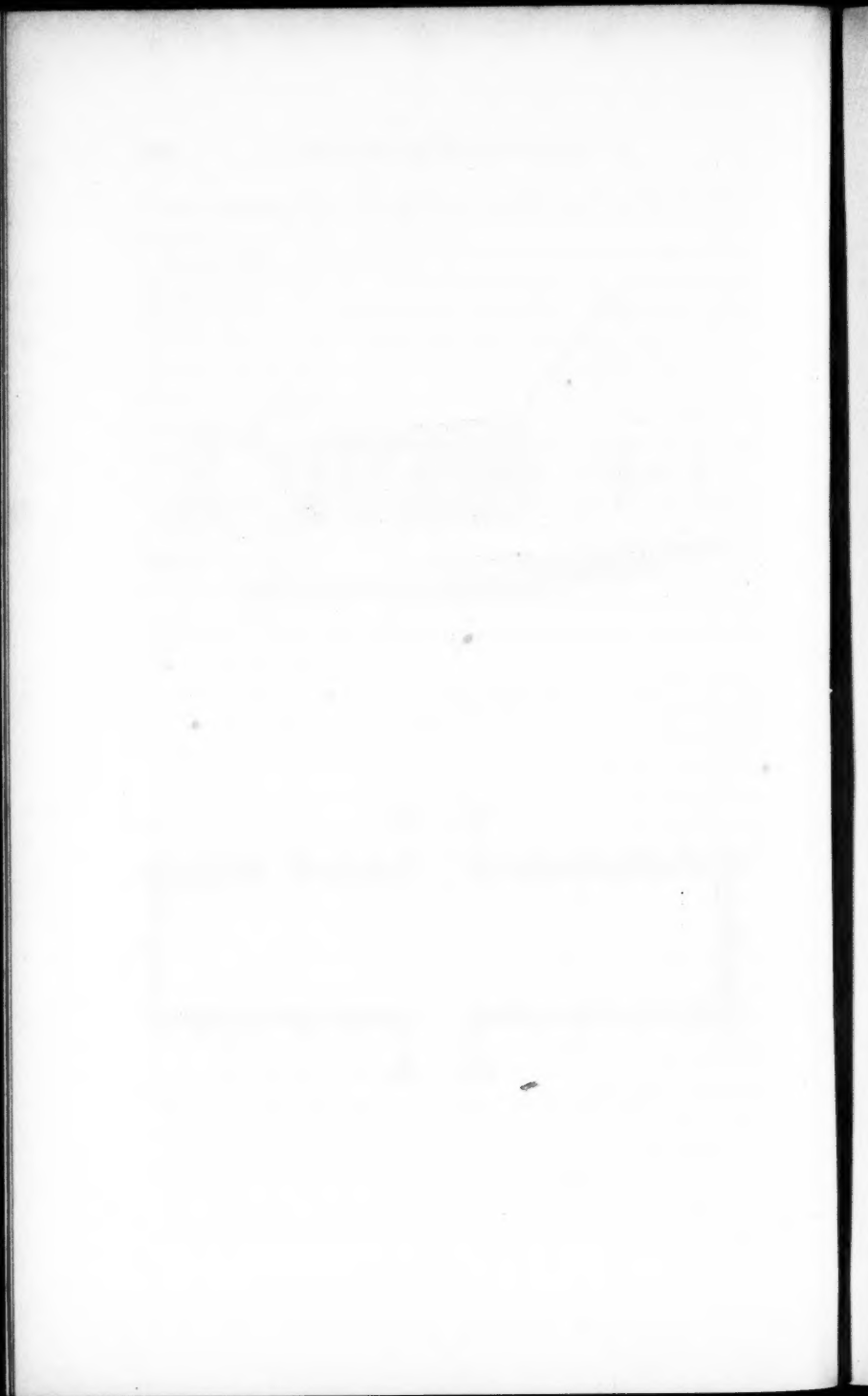
H. L. J.



Tithe Barn, Llantwit Major. North-East View.



Tithe Barn, Llantwit Major. Ground Plan :—from South.



HISTORY OF RADNORSHIRE.

BY THE LATE REV. JONATHAN WILLIAMS, M.A.

No. XI.

(Continued from page 9.)

NEW RADNOR.

Borough and Liberties.

NEW RADNOR is a very ancient borough by prescription. Its first charter of incorporation now in existence was granted by Queen Elizabeth, in the fourth year of her reign, A.D. 1562, at the request of Thomas Hobby, Esq. This charter conferred privileges of great value, a manor, and liberties extending into twelve townships; being bounded on the north by a part of the parish of Cascob, on the east by the parish of Presteigne and township of Hereton, on the south by the parishes of Gladestry and Colfâ, and on the west-south-west and north-west, by the parishes of Clâscwm, Llandegla, and Llanfihangel Rhydieithon; and computed to embrace in length from east to west about eleven miles, and in breadth from north to north-west about nine miles. This extent of territory is called the manor of New Radnor, and the manor and lordship of Radnor Foreign. The bailiff of New Radnor for the time is the lord of the manor of New Radnor, and T. F. Lewis, Esq., of Harpton court, is lord of the manor of Radnor Foreign.

In the fourth year of the reign of George II., (A.D. 1731,) the capital burgesses of the borough of New Radnor were by death, and through neglect of filling up the vacancies, reduced to the small number of seven only, so that the business of the borough was entirely suspended. A new charter was therefore sought, and granted, confirming, explaining and enlarging the powers and prerogatives of that of Elizabeth. This charter ordained, that the town of New Radnor, and manor of Radnor Foreign, being part of the lordship of Radnor, and Radnor's land, and parcel of the possessions of the late Earl of the Marches, and lying in and near the said borough and

town, should be a borough incorporate for ever, by the name of the bailiff, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of New Radnor; that they should be qualified to acquire lands, &c., to grant and demise lands and goods, to sue and be sued, and to have a common seal. It was further ordained, that there should be one bailiff, two aldermen, and twenty-five capital burgesses, whereof the bailiff and aldermen for the time are three; to whom and their successors were granted the town and suburbs, and all former liberties, &c., at the rent of £37 8s. 1½d., to be yearly paid at the exchequer, at the feast of St. Michael, into the hands of the receiver-general.

It was further ordained, that they should have a council-house within the borough and town aforesaid, called the Guild-Hall, and in the same should consult, and decree laws, statutes, ordinances, &c., concerning the government of the borough, town and manor, and concerning themselves, their professions, officers, artificers, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and all the other inhabitants, and that they should inflict on offenders such punishments as were not repugnant or contrary to the laws of the realm.

It was also ordained, that the said capital burgesses shall have power to nominate and elect in the month of September yearly, on Monday next after the exaltation of the Holy Cross, one of themselves to be bailiff for the year ensuing; which person so elected shall be sworn faithfully to perform that office, on Monday after the feast of St. Michael; and that on the same day, viz., on Monday next after the exaltation of the Cross, the said capital burgesses shall elect yearly two others of themselves to be aldermen, which two persons shall be sworn annually on Monday next after the feast of St. Michael, faithfully to perform that office, in the presence of six capital burgesses; and that, when any person holding the office of bailiff or alderman dies, or is removed from either of the said offices, the said capital burgesses shall proceed to a new election, and that the bailiff or one of the aldermen shall preside at all elections.

It was further ordained, that the bailiff, aldermen and

burgesses shall have power to elect one honest and discreet man; learned in the laws, to be the recorder of the borough; and also, that they shall elect a town clerk or prothonotary, who may appoint a deputy; and also, that they shall yearly, on the said Monday next after the exaltation of the Holy Cross, elect two chamberlains, who, with all other inferior officers, may be sworn before the bailiff and six capital burgesses on Monday next after the feast of St. Michael.

It was also ordained, that there shall be two serjeants-at-mace, to carry the maces and to execute all processes; that the borough and jurisdiction shall extend to the ancient limits; that there shall be a coroner to return all inquests at the next great sessions; that one of the said burgesses shall be elected and sent to parliament; that the bailiff, aldermen, capital burgesses, common council, and all other inferior officers, must abide, reside, and inhabit within the borough aforesaid, the liberties, and precincts thereof; that there shall be holden on every Monday a court of record, for all manner of actions, the damage whereon exceeds not the sum of 40s.; that the bailiff shall take recognizances, and the town clerk shall be king's clerk, to receive, &c., the said recognizances, and that the bailiff, aldermen and capital burgesses (or common council) shall make cognizance of all pleas, &c.

It was further ordained, that there shall be a court-leet and view of frankpledge, and return of all writs; that there shall be a jail; that the bailiff shall be a justice of the peace during his bailiwick, and one year after; and also, that the two aldermen shall be justices during their continuance in office; that there shall be a jail delivery; that the bailiff shall be clerk of the market, and receive all fines, waifs, deodands and felons' goods, heriots, &c.; and that there shall be an assize of bread; and that the authority of the county magistrates shall be superseded in the borough and manor, liberties and precincts of the same, unless in default of the said bailiff, aldermen, &c.

It was also ordained that there shall be a market on every Tuesday; and five fairs, viz., on Tuesday after the

feast of the Holy Trinity; on the 3rd day of August; on the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist; on the 29th of April, and on the 1st of October, in every year; during which fairs a court of pie-poudre was to be held, with all free customs to such court belonging; that the bailiff and aldermen shall have a mercatorial guild, together with all customs to such guild belonging; that they shall have power to assess and levy tallage; that the bailiff, aldermen and burgesses shall be free from all toll, lastage, passage, portage, stallage, and other exactions throughout the king's dominions; that they shall not be compelled to appear before any justice of the peace, &c., save before the chief justice of the county; that they shall have power to admit inhabitants to be burgesses; that no burgess shall be sued out of the liberty on any pleas, &c., being done within the borough; that they shall have power to purchase lands under certain restrictions, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain.

It was also ordained, that the bailiff, aldermen and burgesses shall not proceed to the determination of any treason, murder or felony, or any other matter touching the loss of life; that they and their successors shall have all the soils, commons and waste grounds in the borough and manor aforesaid; that they shall enjoy all former grants made to them; that such grants, privileges, &c., are hereby confirmed, renewed and restored; that no sheriff or other officer shall enter the liberties of the said borough, to execute anything pertaining to his office; that no person that is not free of the guild shall trade in the borough and manor aforesaid, unless in the time of markets and fairs; that all residents whatever shall be at scot and lot with the burgesses, and subject to the same contributions; that no *quo warranto* writ shall be issued; and lastly, that this grant or letters patent shall be made and sealed, without fine or fee, in the hanaper, or elsewhere; although the true yearly value of the premises, or any part of them, be not particularly specified or mentioned.

Exceptions.—"Excepted and reserved to us, our heirs

and successors, our castle of Radnor, and the advowson of all churches being within the borough town and manor aforesaid : and excepted all those woods called Achwood, Cwmlberwyn and Northwood, being of the yearly rent of 37s. 6d. ; and also the park called Radnor Park, and demesne land of the castle, being of the yearly rent of 11s. 8d. ; and also excepted the lordship and manor of Newcastle, and the rents and services of the tenants of the lordship of Newcastle, together with the mill called Holbatch Mill, being of the yearly rent of £3 14s. 8d., and likewise the forest of Radnor, being of the yearly rent of £16 or £19."

Such is the renewed charter of the borough of New Radnor and manor of Radnor Foreign ; which, it must be acknowledged, contains very liberal grants and privileges, and all that deservedly ; for the procuring of this new charter cost the exchequer a no less sum than £1284.

Under this new charter of George II. the first bailiff was Stephen Harris, Esq. ; the first recorder Thomas Lewis, Esq., of Harpton ; the first capital burgesses were Samuel Vaughan, Edward Burton, John Whitmore, James Lewis, John James, Charles Evans, Thomas Stephens, of Kinnerton, Herbert Lewis, Esq., of Harpton, Hugh Stephens, of Cascob, Christopher Lewis, William Lewis, of Pantives, John Griffith, Samuel Vaughan, Thomas Prothero, Henry Morgan, of the Stones, Thomas Jones, of the Rhiw, Edward Phillips, Solomon Vaughan, John Griffiths, of Llanfihangel, Richard White, James Gould, Richard Gould, and John Lewis, of Forsidat.

The first bailiff under Queen Elizabeth's charter was Thomas Mar. Powell ab Stephen ; the two first aldermen were Phillip Bunsey, and Rees Lewis ; the burgesses, Phillip Luntly, Thomas Lewis, Griffin Jones, John Madox, John Lewis, Walter Vaughan, of Harpton, Steph. Powell, Morgan Price, John Price de Kinnerton, Clement Downe, John Havard, John Watkins de Lywennau, Edw. Howell, John ab Price, Wm. Greene, Roger Powell, John Price ab John, Hugh Davies, John Powell, David Donne, Rees Harris, Phillip Powell, and Stephen ab Stephen Madox.

By the provisions established under these two charters, the borough and manor foreign of Radnor still continue to be governed. The following are the names of the bailiffs, recorders and town clerks of the borough of New Radnor, from the year 1686 to the present time:—

1686. Walter Cuthbert, <i>Bailiff</i>	1732. Thomas Lewis <i>Recorder</i>
1687. Richard Stones, "	1733. Herbert Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>
1688. John Stephens, "	1734. Samuel Vaughan, "
1689. John Davies, "	1735. Herbert Lewis, "
1690. Ditto, "	1736. John James, "
Charles Cuthbert, <i>Town Clerk</i>	1737. Ditto, "
1691. John Davies, <i>Bailiff</i>	1738. Ditto, "
1692. David Powell, "	1739. Stephen Harris, "
1693. Ditto, "	Evan Meredith, <i>Town Clerk</i>
1694. Ditto, "	1740. Thomas Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>
1695. Ditto, "	1741. Herbert Lewis, "
1696. Ditto, "	1742. John James, "
1697. Ditto, "	William Price, <i>Town Clerk</i>
1698. Ditto, "	1743. John James, <i>Bailiff</i>
1699. Hugh Lewis, "	1744. Ditto, "
1700. Ditto, "	1745. Ditto, "
1701. Ditto, "	1746. Rev. Mr. Lewis, "
1702. Ditto, "	1747. Herbert Lewis, Junr., "
1703. Ditto, "	John James, <i>Town Clerk</i>
1704. Ditto, "	1748. Herbert Lewis, Junr., <i>Bailiff</i>
1705. James Duppa, "	1749. Ditto, "
1706. William James, "	1750. Thomas Lewis, "
Robert Price, <i>Recorder</i>	1751. Rev. Tho. Lewis, "
1707. David Powell, <i>Bailiff</i>	1752. Thomas Lewis, "
1708. Griffith Payne, "	1753. John James, "
1709. Roger Tonman, "	Thomas Williams, <i>Town Clerk</i>
1710. Thomas Lewis, "	1754. William Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>
1711. Henry Bull, "	1755. Solomon Vaughan, "
1712. David Powell, "	1756. John Vaughan, "
1713. John Miles, "	1757. John Stephens, "
1714. Samuel Burton, "	Henry Lewis, <i>Recorder</i>
1715. Wm. Chamberlayne, "	1758. Thomas Davies, <i>Bailiff</i>
1716. James Duppa, "	1759. John Stephens, "
1717. Thomas Lewis, "	1760. Thomas Davies, "
1718. Henry Bull, "	1761. Benjamin Allford, "
1719. John Miles, "	1762. William Jones, "
1720. Herbert Lewis, "	1763. Edward Hunt, "
1721. James Bull, "	1764. John Gittoes, "
1722. Peter Rickards, "	John Lewis, <i>Recorder</i>
1723. John Boulter, "	1765. Benjamin Evans, <i>Bailiff</i>
1724. David Williams, "	John James, <i>Town Clerk</i>
Rev. David Williams, "	1766. John Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>
1725. James Duppa, "	Thomas Lewis, <i>Recorder</i>
1726. Herbert Lewis, "	1767. Benjamin Allford, <i>Bailiff</i>
1727. John Stephens, "	1768. John Muscott, "
1728. John Whitmore, "	John Lewis, <i>Recorder</i>
1729. Herbert Lewis, "	1769. James Watkins, <i>Bailiff</i>
1730. Roger Stephens, "	1770. William Evans, "
John Stephens, "	1771. Edward Phillips, "
Howel Lewis, <i>Town Clerk</i>	1772. Charles Miles, "
1731. John James, <i>Bailiff</i>	1773. Clement Payne, "
1732. Samuel Vaughan, "	1774. Edward Hunt, "

1775. Charles Miles, <i>Bailiff</i>	1790. Hugh Jones, <i>Clk., Bailiff</i>
1776. John James, "	James Price, <i>Town Clerk</i>
1777. David Williams, "	1791. John Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>
1778. John Stephens, "	Hugh Jones, <i>Clk., Dep. Recorder</i>
1779. Thomas Lewis, "	1792. David Williams, <i>Bailiff</i>
1780. Benjamin Evans, "	John Lewis, <i>Recorder</i>
James Baskerville, <i>Town Clerk</i>	1793. James Price, <i>Bailiff</i>
1781. Thomas Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>	T. W. Lewis, <i>Town Clerk</i>
1782. James Baskerville, "	1794. Richard Watkins, <i>Bailiff</i>
John Meredith, <i>Town Clerk</i>	James Price, <i>Town Clerk to 1819</i>
1783. William Evans, <i>Bailiff</i>	1795. John Taylor, <i>Bailiff</i>
1784. Edward Hunt, "	1796. Richard Williams, "
James Baskerville, <i>Town Clerk</i>	1797. John Hunt, "
1785. Edward Cooper, <i>Bailiff</i>	William Frankland, <i>Recorder</i>
James Lewis, <i>Town Clerk</i>	1798. John Stephens, <i>Bailiff</i>
1786. John Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>	1799. Ditto, "
Rich. Urrich, <i>Deputy Recorder</i>	1800. David Williams, "
1787. John Gittos, <i>Bailiff</i>	1801. Richard Williams, "
John Lewis, <i>Recorder</i>	T. F. Lewis, <i>Recorder to 1819</i>
1788. James Lewis, <i>Bailiff</i>	1802. William Jones, <i>Bailiff</i>
T. W. Lewis, <i>Dep. Town Clerk</i>	1803. David Williams, "
1789. Thomas Williams, <i>Bailiff</i>	1804. Thomas Bright, "
James Lewis, <i>Town Clerk</i>	1805. Richard Williams, "
	1806. Jeremiah Griffiths, " to 1819

Members of Parliament.

Radnor is considered as the mother borough, and being the shire town is entitled, in conjunction with the contributory boroughs of Knighton, Rhayader, Cnwclas, and Cefn-y-llys, which exist as boroughs by prescription, to return one burgess to Parliament. The manner of nominating burgesses, and qualifying them for voting for a representative in Parliament is as follows:—

In the borough of Radnor, the burgesses are elected by a majority of the bailiff, aldermen, and twenty-five capital burgesses of the borough; and the number is no otherwise limited than that the persons so elected must be inhabitants within the borough at the time of such election; but their removal afterwards does not deprive them of their elective franchise. Nothing but the circumstance of receiving parochial relief disqualifies from being made a burgess any inhabitant who is regularly proposed, and goes through the requisite forms. On that account their number is very considerable; those of New Radnor alone at present exceed 200.

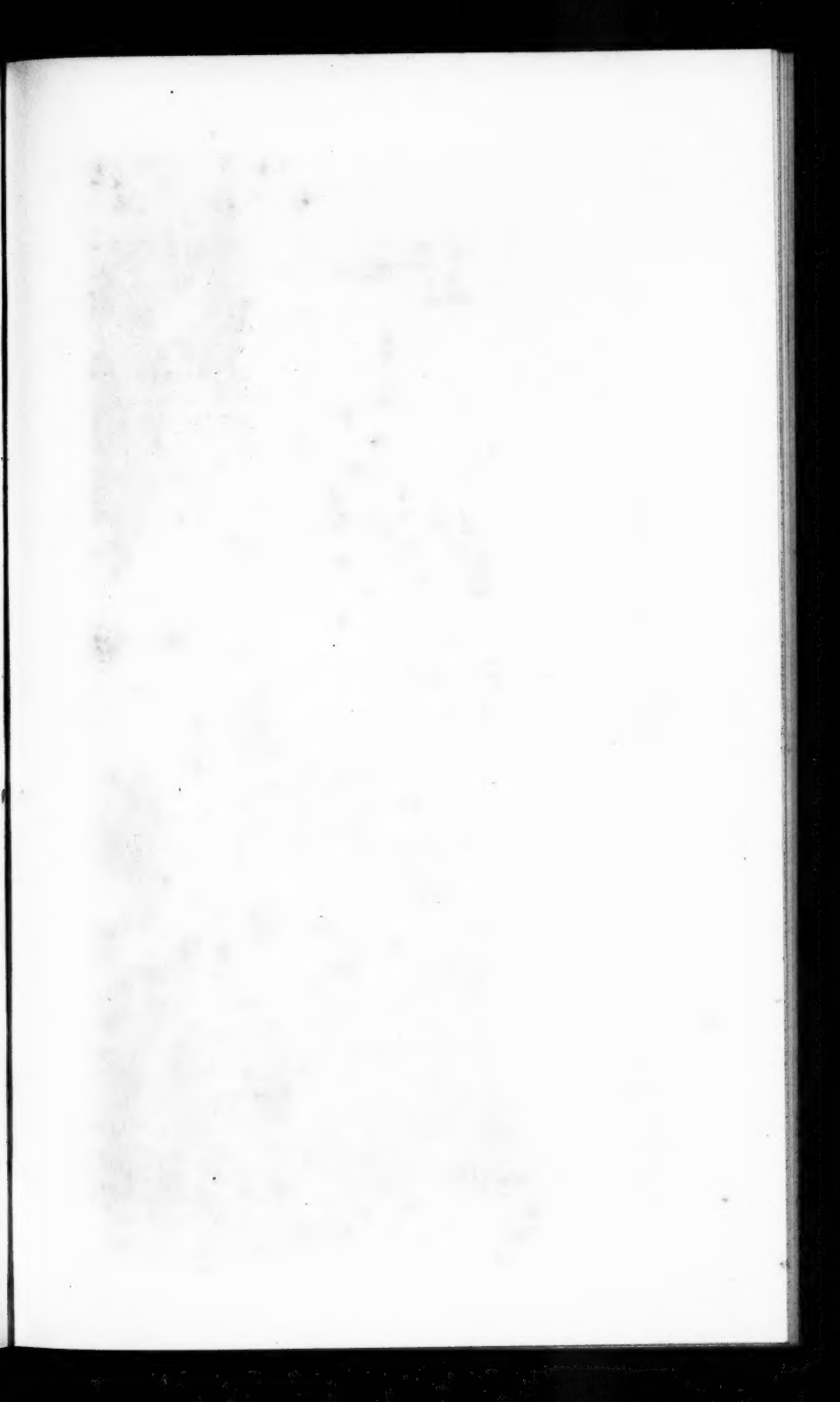
In the borough of Rhayader, the ancient rights and customs of which were ascertained by order of the

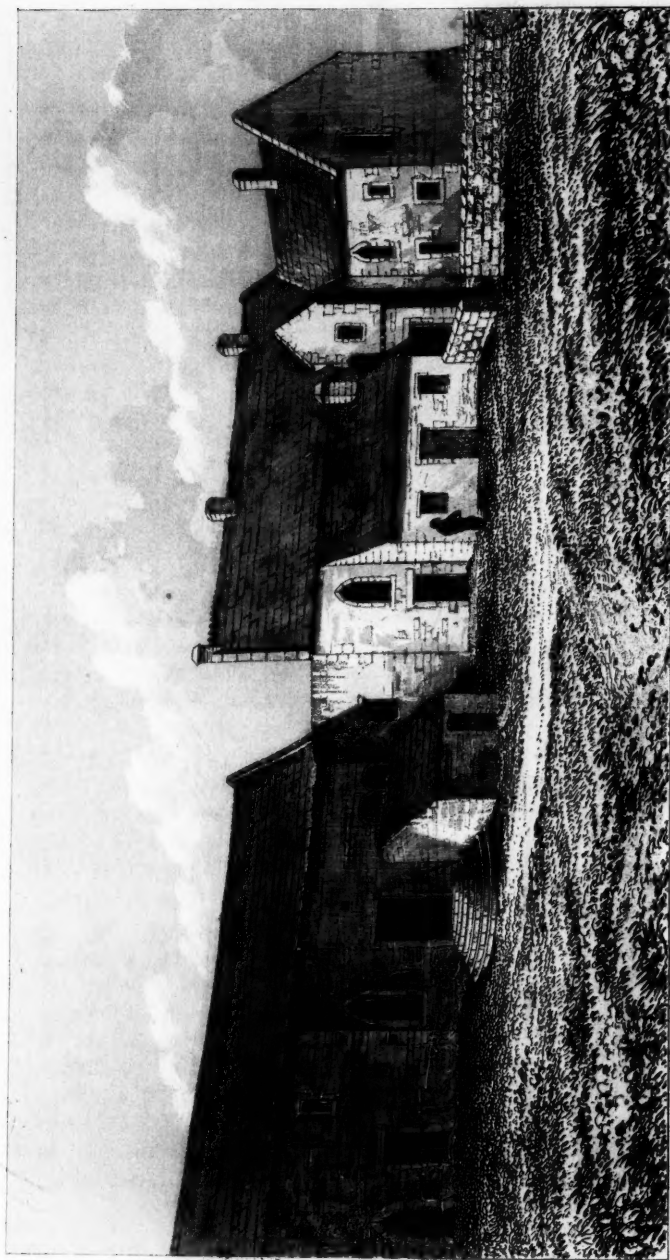
commons of England in the year of 1649, and in those of Knighton and Cnwclas, all of which are within the manor of Cantref Moelynaidd, and also of Cefn-y-llys, which is now private property, the burgesses are, when regularly elected, chosen in the following manner:—By prescription courts-leet are occasionally holden by the steward, or deputy steward, presiding over these boroughs. At these courts the jury, who have been previously summoned, and who ought to be burgesses of such respective boroughs, are impannelled, and present the names of such persons, whether inhabitants or not, whom they think proper to select as fit and proper persons to be made burgesses. This presentment being accepted by the steward, the persons so presented are generally sworn in immediately, if they be present in court, but if not, at a subsequent court.

In the borough of Knighton there is an established prescription, that any two inhabitants, burgesses, who are present at the holding of the leet, may object to any person proposed or presented to be made a burgess. There is also another custom in the said borough; the eldest son of a deceased burgess has a right to claim of the steward to be admitted and sworn in a burgess, on the payment of one shilling; which privilege is stated in the customs of this borough, as delivered to Thomas Harley, Esq., steward of the same, in the second year of the reign of Charles II., A.D. 1662.

In all these contributory boroughs, it is at the time of holding their respective courts that the nomination of new burgesses to be elected is to be made. The number of burgesses belonging to the four contributory boroughs is estimated at 1000, the total is about 1200.

The privilege of returning one burgess for the borough of Radnor, in conjunction with its four contributory boroughs, viz., Knighton, Rhayader, Cnwclâs, and Cefn-y-llys, is founded on the statute of the 27th and 35th of Henry VIII. This privilege, however, was not immediately exercised and enjoyed, either from the novelty of the institution, or from the predilection of the inhabitants





J. B. Brown del.

Cast. Bryn, y Bwrdd, Carmarthenshire.

for their accustomed form of government; or, if exercised and enjoyed, no historical account of such elections has been preserved and transmitted to posterity. The first election, of which notice has been handed down to us, took place at the Restoration.

CWRT BRYN Y BEIRDD.

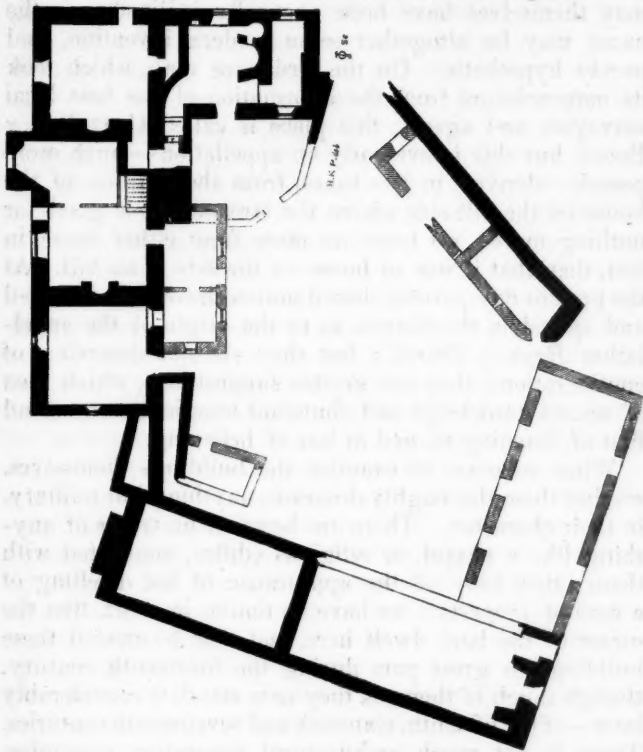
On the hill-side which is seen from Castell Carreg Cennen, and above the southern bank of the little river of that name, stands the ancient mansion called Cwrt Bryn y Beirdd, which was visited with so much curiosity by members of our Association, on the occasion of their meeting at Llandeilo Fawr. The position of this house, taken in conjunction with the style of its earliest architecture, gives it a certain amount of archæological interest, because its oldest portions date as far back, apparently, as the former part of the fourteenth century; and though at that time this must have been one of the wildest parts of Caermarthenshire, yet the house could hardly even then have been fortified, but must have been a comparatively open mansion, within easy reach, as it was full in view, of the feudal stronghold on the northern side of the stream. It is this very feature of the open unprotected nature of the house, so much opposed in this respect to the gloomy strength of the neighbouring castle, that confers on it the greatest part of its interest; for the architectural features, though positive as to their date, are not by any means remarkable; but to find an unfortified residence of the fourteenth century on the side of a peculiarly wild hill, in front of an impregnable fortress of a somewhat earlier date, constitutes a case of social anomaly. Either we must consider Cwrt Bryn y Beirdd to have been an open mansion of the kind mentioned above, without any external defences of notable value, standing in a district almost uninhabited, and untilld at

that period ; or else this absence of defence must be taken as an indirect proof that the district was in the fourteenth century one of peace, probably better tilled than it is now, one that required no other means of safety for its inhabitants than what the arm of the law then afforded. And yet, if this latter supposition be correct, what are we to say of Castell Carreg Cennen ? What was the need of so strongly fortifying that place at the beginning of the same century ? And what are we to say to the analogies of Welsh history of that period, which do not lead us to suppose that society was peculiarly tranquil in Ystrad Towy, nor the slopes of the mountains highly cultivated ? We are inclined to assume it as a *datum*, that no person in the fourteenth century would have inhabited what was then a large mansion, without external lines of defence, on the side of a bleak open mountain, far removed from the usual lines of traffic, and close by one of the strongest holds of the country, unless it had been for purposes of peace, nor unless the confidence of living there in undisturbed security had been based on good grounds. Either, then, this mansion stood in the midst of a country well cultivated and secure, and therefore not needing many precautions of defence, or else it was rendered safe, notwithstanding the wildness and loneliness of its situation, by religious sanctity,—by its being the country mansion, or the outlying grange, of some religious house. Or else, perhaps, as a third supposition, it may have been the *Hafod-ty*, the summer residence,—the abode in times of peace, however rare,—of the owner of Carreg Cennen Castle.

We throw out these conjectures for the discussion of members, in the absence of any documentary or even traditional account of the original condition of Cwrt Bryn y Beirdd. It is by no means improbable that some light may be thrown on the subject from the records in the Chapter-House at Westminster, rich in matters concerning South Wales, and which we are about to attack, or from the muniment rooms of Golden Grove, or Dynevor ; but, without aids of this kind, the antecedent appearances and

probabilities of the case lead to one or other of the suppositions just indicated.

We learn nothing from its name, except that at some period or other, before the present one, it was an house where tenants paid rent—as the word *CwrŦ* implies—and

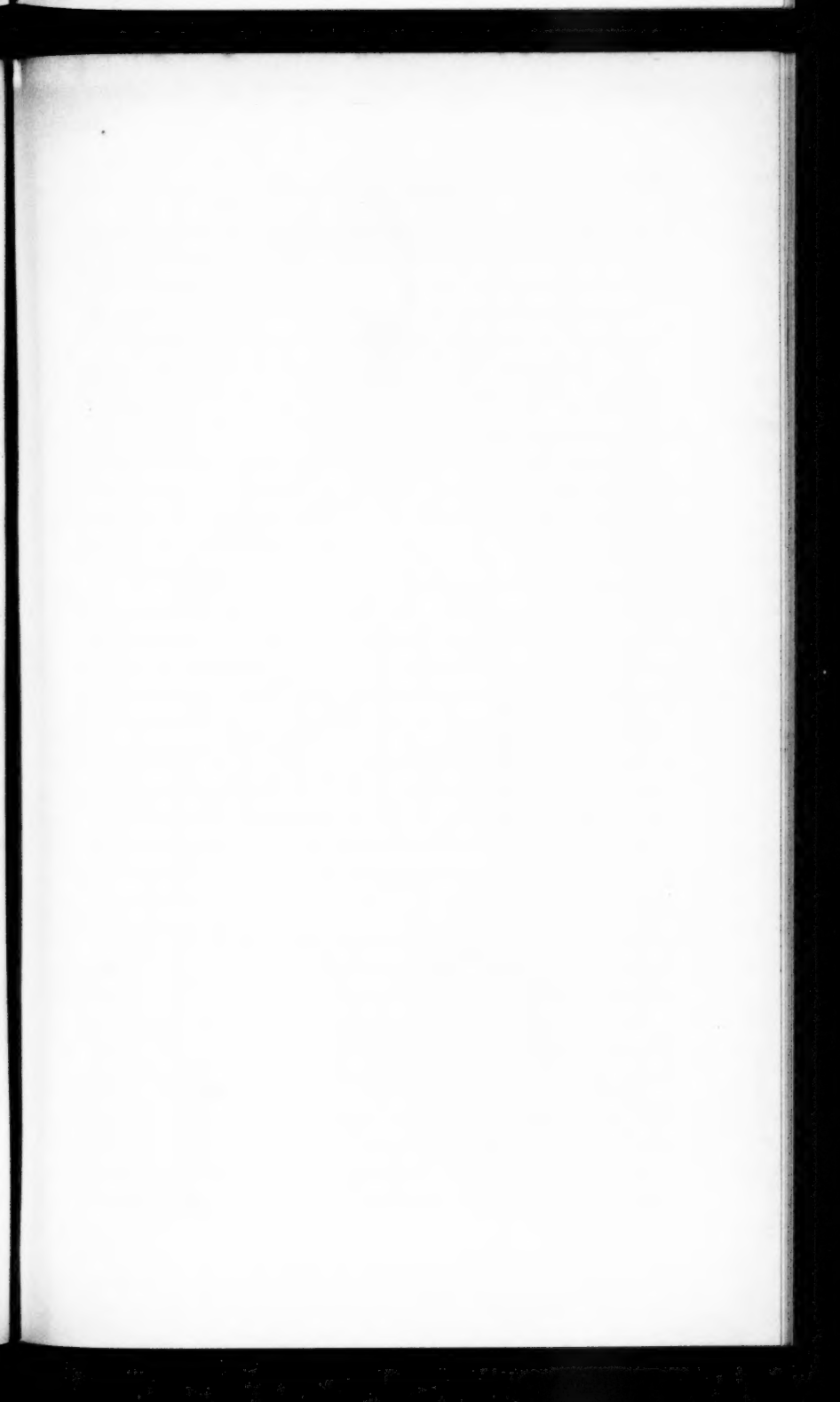


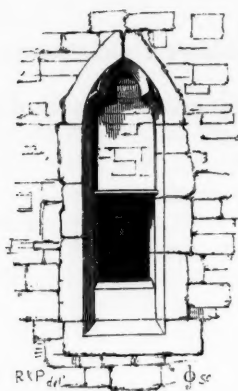
Plan of CwrŦ Bryn y Beirdd, from the South.

nothing more. It might have been a manor-house; if so, the records of the manor may lead us to traces of its early story; at all events, the name *CwrŦ*, together with the size and style of the buildings, shows that it belonged originally to some person of wealth. The other portion of the name, *Bryn y Beirdd*, refers not to the house, but

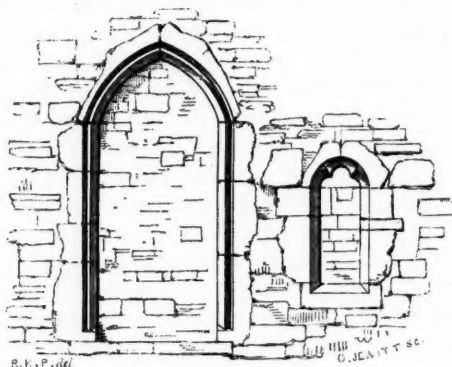
to its position ; it indicates the name of the hill—whether an old name or a modern one is uncertain, for documentary evidence is wanting. There may have been some person or persons given to versifying, who may have dwelt hereabouts in former times ; or the owners of the house may themselves have been poetically inclined ; or the name may be altogether some modern invention, and purely hypothetical. On the Ordnance map, which took its nomenclature from the information of the best local surveyors and agents, this place is called *Cwrt Pen y Banc* ; but this is evidently an appellation—much more prosaic—derived, in late times, from the position of the house on the hill-side above the stream. It is good for nothing more ; we learn no more from either name, in fact, than that it was an house on the side of an hill. At the present day, several absurd notions have been invented and spread in the district, as to the origin of the appellation *Bryn y Beirdd* ; but they are not deserving of consideration ; they are mythic suppositions, which men of scanty knowledge and abundant imagination are fond first of listening to, and at last of believing.

When we come to examine the buildings themselves, we find them thoroughly domestic, anything but military, in their character. There are however no traces of anything like a chapel, or religious edifice, connected with them ; they have all the appearance of the dwelling of a man of property ; we have no doubt, in short, that the owner of the land dwelt here, and that he erected these buildings in great part during the fourteenth century, though much of them, as they now stand, is considerably later—of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is not much architectural decoration remaining about them, though the chamferings and curves are sufficiently numerous and well preserved to indicate the periods of construction. The pile of buildings, never very large, has been added to, altered, “ improved,” i. e., mutilated, like any other family mansion during so many centuries ; and, as it now remains, there are difficulties in making out the destination, the original condition,

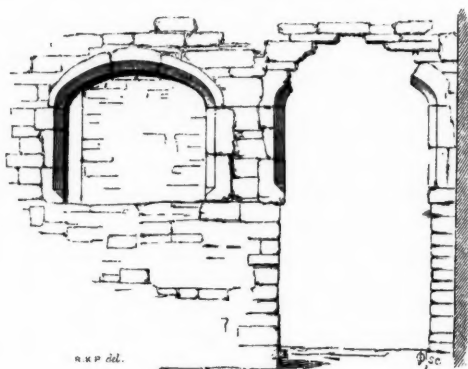




North Side, Exterior.



East Doorway, Hall.



West Doorway, Hall.

DETAILS, CWRT BRYN Y BEIRDD.

and the date of several portions ; but, taken in the whole, the house is a valuable study for the local architect and the antiquary, and it is worthy of further illustration beyond what we are here able to present to members.

The buildings, as will be seen by the plan, are arranged round the sides of an irregular yard, or farm-stead. On the west and north stands the dwelling portion ; on the south-west is a long pile, now used for a barn, but which once apparently contained the great hall, kitchen, and other offices ; while on the north-east and south-east are walls and remains of early farm buildings, with similar erections of recent times. The buildings on the north, west, and south-west sides, are each of two stories ; the more ancient are those on the north and the south-west. In the dwelling pile, on the north side, a stone staircase winds from the ground-floor to the upper story ; the construction is rude, and where beams are employed they are not much more than trees roughly squared. The fire-places are segmental, with the arches well wedged in, and with corner corbels, quite plain, in the nooks of the jambs. The edges of all the work are simply chamfered, without mouldings of any kind. The windows are mostly single loops, with ogee heads, trifoliated ; the doorways are generally pointed ; and, in most cases, the dimensions of the curves will tally with work of the fourteenth century. In one instance, a small loop has a circular head trifoliated, a characteristic of the Late Decorated period. In the pile on the south-west side, there is a large fire-place, 10 feet wide by 6 feet high, at the west end, with a segmental head not chamfered, the wedges of the main or lower arch being in excellent sharpness of preservation, and above it a parallel relieving arch of small slate-like wedges, very firm and good. The timber work of the roof is of the end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century ; the principals form segmental arches, with the edges plainly chamfered, and the triangular spaces beneath the ridge beams trifoliated ; there are two rows of purlines, each supported by side-braces, and the rafters are at narrow intervals. It is a simple roof,

strongly put together, and in excellent condition. In the wall of this building, towards the court, are two sets of ancient doorways. One, at the western end, close to the great fire-place within, approached by a flight of rude stone steps leading to a short terrace, and with a window close by it, offers the peculiar cycloidal curve which occurs but rarely, and of which a remarkable instance may be quoted in the window heads of the great hall of Beaumaris Castle. Over another, which is however a modern doorway, leading in to the lower story, is a small ogree-headed arch, certainly of the fourteenth century; but the curve of the other ancient doorway, which is towards the east end of the building, will answer either to this period, or to one a little earlier.

Where the chimneys and the porch-chambers project from the walls, they rest on the plain corbels common in Caermarthenshire, and other parts of South Wales—rough and strong, but highly effective in constructive decoration. Behind the ancient kitchen and hall, now the barn, there is a sort of passage covered with large slabs of stone, but we do not know what date to assign to this; such contrivances are of very common occurrence in Snowdonian farm-houses down to the present day, though we have not met with another instance in South Wales. The buildings have their better windows of ancient date all facing inward to the court, externally there were only loops. We have looked in vain for traces of outer walls, or ditches of defence. The whole pile gives the impression of having been, first of all, a mansion, or grange, and then a farm residence probably for the last hundred years or more.

The situation is highly picturesque, the views from it delightful; within half a mile over the southern ridge of the hill is the mystic cave whence rushes the river Llwchwr; north-east frowns Castell Carreg Cennen; beneath brawls the Cennen itself; above the house rises the Mynydd du, bleak and stony; while down in the far west opens the Vale of Towy, with the slopes of Golden Grove, the stately oaks and the ancient towers of Dynevor.

H. L. J.

WELSH RECORD CLUB.

MANY members have sent in their names as approving generally of the ideas stated under this head in our last Number, and several have expressed a wish that something like a definite plan should be proposed at once. This, however, is not easy to be done until a circular shall have been sent round among the members who think well of the general proposition. We may, however, state that, judging from the tenders sent in by several printing houses, there is every prospect of the sum of £50 being sufficient to produce an annual volume without illustrations. We have great satisfaction in stating that, on the subject being mentioned to the Master of the Rolls, he at once expressed his readiness to facilitate researches instituted by the Association amongst the depositories placed under his care. Upon further consulting the Catalogues of MSS. and Records connected with Wales in the British Museum, the Rolls' Office, the Chapter-House, the Bodleian Library, &c., &c., it has been ascertained that there is a considerable number of unpublished documents, not too long, and of great interest, which would be gladly received by members. Several private repositories are also open to us; and one of our members has, in the kindest manner, offered to place at our disposal one of the most valuable unpublished MSS. referring to early Welsh History. We have also received an offer from one of our earliest friends on the Basque frontier of France, to transcribe and edit for the Association, a Latin Metrical Chronicle of British and Armoric events, which is of great literary and historical interest.

It is most probable that the members who subscribe to the Club will, by the sale of their volumes to other than subscribers, be reimbursed the greater part of their annual donation; for the volumes will fetch a good price, whether sold to members of the Association, or to the archæological public generally. Names of members wishing to join the Club should be sent to the Editor without delay.—Proposed subscription, £1 per annum.

Cambrian Archæological Association,

1857.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

Receipts.			Expenditure.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance on 1st January, 1857....	20	7 0	Printing, &c.....	157	12 0
Subscriptions, &c., from 1st January, to 31st December, 1857...	324	3 5	Engraving, &c.....	108	0 2
Balance from Welshpool Meeting	6	10 9	Postages, Carriage of Parcels, &c.	9	0 1
Copies of <i>Archæologia Cambrensis</i> sold	8	5 3	Sundries.....	0	7 8
			Balance in Treasurer's hands, 1st January, 1858	84	6 6
				<u>£359</u>	<u>6 5</u>

THOMAS OWEN MORGAN, *Treasurer.*

Correspondence.

MONMOUTH MEETING REPORT.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—In the Report of the Monmouth Meeting of the Association (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1857, p. 416) I read the following rather inaccurate account of my remarks on Archdeacon Williams' paper.

"Mr. Basil Jones asked what grounds, besides that of simple hypothesis, existed for attributing *all* such structures as those described in the Archdeacon's paper to the agency of the Druids."

The italics (which are yours, and not mine) give a fallacious appearance of circumstantiality to the passage: but the italicized monosyllable not only makes me say what I never said, but makes me talk absolute nonsense. What evidence *can* there be for the druidical origin of every so-called druidical structure? I am not so unreasonable as to ask for it. Whenever it has been proved to my satisfaction that *any single cromlech* was erected for the purposes of the druidical worship, I shall feel bound to believe it of the whole class. This brings the matter to a simple issue.—I remain, &c.,

W. BASIL JONES.

University College, Oxford, Dec. 17, 1857.

[The Publishing Committee had nothing whatever to do with the compilation of the Report; it was entirely composed by the Secretaries.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.]

TEMPLARS' CHURCHES.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

[We print this letter just as we have received it; and we congratulate our correspondent, one of the most learned among our Breton *confrères*, on the admirable command he has attained over the Anglo-Saxon language.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.]

SIR,—I feel very happy to have occasion to answer the question in your Number of April, 1857, on account of an allegation made by a Breton author. Your correspondent does very right not to trust in Mr. de Fréminville. Since the great works of Mr. de Caumont have established and rendered common in France the principles of a rational classification of monuments, his appraising has lost all its credit amongst us. I do not know also if the person whom I have the honour to answer is not mistaken in his opinion of Mr. de Fréminville's idea.

Mr. de Fréminville does not certainly mean anything but that, contrary to what he had observed in the other churches of the Templars, that of Loctudy is composed of a nave accompanied with two aisles. Such is in fact the real disposition of the monument, as readers can convince themselves in taking knowledge of the plan, and the excellent description which Mr. de la Monneraie has given of it,

in his *Essai sur l'Architecture Religieuse en Bretagne* (*Bulletin Archéologique de l'Association Bretonne*, vol. I. part II. p. 165). I even think that, if there exist in Brittany churches with two equal naves,—both having connection, for the type, with those of North Wales,—they are very rare exceptions.

As for M^r. de Fréminville's theory, it has no right to our belief, nothing being less proved than the Templar origin of the monuments from which he has taken his characteristics. It is even become very difficult to determine, at this day, the localities where those warrior monks had any possessions, by sufficient demonstration. We now restore the charter of Duke Conan IV. to the monks of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which charter had been for a long while attributed to the Templars.—(See *Bulletin Archéologique de l'Association Bretonne*, vol. IV. First Part, p. 188.)

A learned archæologist has found himself grounded to believe that a certain form of cross¹ was particularly adopted by the Templars (see *Ibid.* vol. I. First Part, p. 51, and vol. IV. First Part, p. 139): but another member of the Association Bretonne, whose opinion has also great authority, sustains the contrary.

For my part, not having seen that sign exclusively employed in the Templar buildings, but having found it on numerous monuments which the Templars certainly never possessed, I think myself sufficiently authorized to reject that opinion. The Templars, most probably, employed the cross used in their time and in the country where they lived. I could prove this thesis by authentic documents.

I wish these explanations may be useful to your correspondent, and I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

A MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION BRETONNE.

QUAKERS' BURIAL-GROUNDS IN WALES.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—Five or six years since, at Llanidloes, I met a Quaker gentleman, who informed me he had come from Tewkesbury to pay the last token of respect to the memory of a deceased member of their society, the last left in the town, in which there had formerly been a congregation. The interment took place at the Quaker's Garden, a cemetery half way on the old road between Llanidloes and Machynlleth, near the Dylife Mountain. I was much interested in the kindness of a society that had sent a deputation so far to see the last rites performed to a humble and solitary member. Besides the cemetery mentioned, there is one at Llanddewi Brefi, Cardiganshire, called the Quaker's Burial-ground, walled round, and full of graves, and one monument to a family still subsisting at Lampeter. I have heard of another at Henllan Amgoed, Caermarthenshire; and one of

¹ This form, so assigned to the Templars, is exactly similar to what one sees on the fine tumular slab of Abererch, (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, Third Series, ii. p. 304,) and also on the stone pillars of Locoal-Mendon and Branderion, (*ibid.* October, 1857.)

the visits of the Association at Monmouth, last September, was to be to the Quaker's Cemetery, at the Pant, near Monmouth, where was a curious epitaph. From Sewell's *History of the Quakers*, it appears that the followers of George Fox extended themselves into Wales in the lifetime of their founder, who himself more than once visited different parts of the Principality. In 1657 he was at Brecknock, where he was accompanied by Thomas Holmes, who, first of the Quakers, preached and ministered in Wales, and by John ap John, who, three years before, had been sent from Wrexham, in North Wales, into the North of England, to inquire what kind of people the Quakers were, and who afterwards became a minister amongst his countrymen of that persuasion. From Brecknock they proceeded to Tenby, and several other places in Wales. Again, in 1663, George Fox, from Bristol, visited Wales; and in 1666 he was again in Wales, and at Shrewsbury, where he had a great meeting. Dr. William Lloyd, while Bishop of St. Asaph, held a public disputation with the Quakers at Llanfyllin; from all which facts it appears that congregations of the Friends were very numerous throughout Wales during the time of the Nonconformists, but have now become almost only historical in the country, as I do not know of any congregation of the society at present existing.—I remain, &c.,

AMICUS.

[Our correspondent is evidently not acquainted with Neath and Swansea, where large congregations of Friends exist. Does he, however, forget our highly agreeable *personal intercourse* with the Friend of the Association, at Monmouth? But we shall all visit Neath, it is to be hoped, some day or other. Near Dolgelley, on the north-east spur of Cadair Idris, we have visited a lonely and a lovely spot, where Friends are interred, and which still bears the name of Capel Quakers.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.]

CURSING WELLS.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—Your correspondent "TYRO ARCHÆOLOGICUS," (see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Third Series, iii. p. 214,) speaks of "*Cursing Wells*," as not being uncommon in the Cambrian Principality, and as exhibiting, probably, a remain of Celtic paganism. I have never heard of any such wells in Lower Brittany; but the following note shows us that the Armorican Bretons have carried this souvenir of the pagan worship yet farther, by transferring the odious powers and attributes of the Celtic "*Goddess of Hate*" to the mild and gentle Mother of the Redeemer; thus making her the patroness of hatred and revenge.

Speaking of the superstitions prevalent in the district of Treguier, (Côtes du Nord,) and referring to the Christianization of many of the Celtic monuments by surmounting them with crosses, M. Souvestre tells us that the passions of the people still remained, and that they were anxious to retain a divinity for them. "The Celt," says he,

"prior to his conversion, possessed an altar dedicated to *Hate*; he could not resolve within himself to have but one single altar, that of *Charity*. He bethought him, therefore, that he might retain his worship by merely changing the Patron. Thus was it, that what he had rendered to a barbarous divinity was transferred by him to the Mother of Jesus, and that chapels arose under the strange invocation of 'Our Lady of Hate' (*Notre Dame de la Haine*). Think not that time has enlightened his mind, and rectified these errors! A chapel, dedicated to '*Notre Dame de la Haine*,' still exists near Treguier, and the people have not ceased to believe in the efficacy of the prayers there offered up. At nightfall may yet be seen shadowy figures gliding stealthily along towards the gloomy edifice erected on the summit of a turfless eminence. Three *Aves*, devoutly repeated in prayer for the death of the object of their hate, irrevocably occasion that death within the year."

Another Breton topographer records the same fact; but in our rambles round Treguier, it was not our fortune to stumble upon this demoniacal shrine. However, above the high altar of Plouguiel—a most picturesque spot, only half a league from Treguier—is a gigantic female portrait, which would seem to represent *Notre Dame de la Haine*, if we may judge from its barbarous traits.

Nothing can be more delightful than the walk from Treguier to Plouguiel, across the Guendy, by the "Petit Pont suspendu."

I remain, &c.,

Nantes, March 4, 1858.

R. PERROTT.

ANECDOTE OF BISHOP LLOYD OF ST. ASAPH.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—The following anecdote of William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, may not be generally known to your readers. It is not a very important one, nor one particularly adapted for your columns, but it may interest some. We are indebted to Anthony-a-Wood's *Journal* for it. Shortly before the Restoration, one Kynaston, a merchant from London, with a long beard and profusion of hair, came to Oxford, pretending to be an Eastern patriarch, and that he had come to the university to inquire into the nature of the Reformation, as a model for certain intended alterations in the East. Several Royalists, some of whose names are given, repaired to him to receive his blessing, which was duly bestowed. The Greek professor, John Harman, appeared before him formally, and delivered a Greek oration in his presence. Somebody present, aware of the deception, laughed at the earnestness of the learned professor, which led to an *éclaircissement*, and detection of the fraud. Wood tells us,—“It was a piece of waggery to impose upon the Royalists, and such as had a mind to be blest by a patriarch instead of an archbishop or bishop; and it made great sport for the time.” For it appears that the Dean of Christ Church, with some of the canons, and other Presbyterian doctors, had also paid their respects to the pretended patriarch, and

had made preparations to draw up a model for the patriarch. The author of the trick was William Lloyd, of Wadlam College, but at that time acting as a private tutor in Berkshire. He was obliged to abscond, and get safe out of the reach of the incensed dignitaries of Christ Church. The trick was evidently intended for the Presbyterian party, but the Royalists also had been taken in, as far as begging and receiving the patriarchal benediction.

George Wharton, the astronomer, took notice of this fact in his *Almanack* of 1661, where he calls the patriarch Jeremias; but he has made a mistake, according to Wood, as to the exact date.

I remain, &c.,

E. L. B.

ANCIENT BATTLE-FIELD NEAR HEREFORD.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I am anxious to communicate a few observations upon a recent discovery in the neighbourhood of Hereford, which will tend to throw some light upon the history of this part of the border land in relation to the Welsh.

It appears that in making excavations for the drainage of a field in the parish of Pipe, three miles north of this city, about midway between the Leominster and Stretford-Bridge turnpike roads, the workmen were surprized at coming into frequent contact with skeletons; and, in carrying on the drainage operations, they found that about one-half of the field was literally covered with them, at a depth of about twelve or eighteen inches from the present surface, a little below the reach of the plough. At one point, too, the workmen discovered some pottery of a coarse character, made of common red clay; unfortunately, however, none of it was sufficiently perfect to indicate its precise date. There were a few pieces of broken vessels composed of blue clay. Some of the pieces of pottery have been kindly sent to me by Thomas Clarke, Esq., the owner of the property.

In consequence of this information, I visited the spot whilst the drainage was still in progress, and received an account of the discovery. One of the workmen opened the ground in one or two places, where they had endeavoured to preserve the skeletons entire without disturbing its position, thus affording me an inspection; and from him I learnt that wherever they excavated for the drainage they found that the ground was full of these human remains. It does not appear that this circumstances was hitherto known; but it is stated by some of the old inhabitants of the neighbourhood that the field was anciently called "The Skull Field."

A question is naturally asked—How came these skeletons there? There is no record of the spot ever having been a place of sepulture, and the situation is far from indicating such a circumstance; indeed the way in which the skeletons lie, being indiscriminately strewn over the field at such a slight depth, and according to no particular rule, would oppose any such inference. The solution must be sought for elsewhere.

The only reasonable presumption is, that it was the site of an ancient battle-field. Referring to the history of Wales, it will be found that in the year 1054 the Welsh, under Gruffyd, made an inroad into Herefordshire, and advanced within two miles of the city, where they were met by the English under Randolph, who boldly entered into an engagement which continued several hours, until at length the English were defeated, and retreated to the city, whither they were followed by Gruffyd and his army, who committed great havoc, and laid the town itself in ruins.

The place where this engagement took place is described by the historian as two miles north of the city, which corresponds pretty nearly with the situation of "The Skull Field," (as the locality in question was formerly called, and which name it is now desirable to revive,) so that it is highly probable, as the above was the only skirmish which is recorded as having taken place so near the city, that this field was the site of that well-known engagement, in which many of our Welsh neighbours at the present day take no little pride.

Should any of the members of the Association feel sufficient interest in the subject to forward any additional remarks, I hope they will not fail to do so, and thus further elucidate an event so important in the annals of this portion of the border district.—I remain, &c.,

Hereford, February 23, 1858.

JAMES DAVIES.

[We earnestly hope that our correspondent will be able to obtain, and *preserve entire* for scientific examination, some of the *crania* from this field. Important ethnological discoveries and inductions depend on things of this kind.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.]

WELSH CHRONICLES—RADNORSHIRE ANTIQUITIES.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I observe that in the last Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* is an article by Mr. T. Stephens on the Welsh Chronicles. Perhaps the following letters may be deemed interesting as appendices to it.—Yours, &c.,

W. OWEN.

Mr. Aneurin Owen to the Rev. W. J. Rees.

DEAR SIR,

Feb. 7, 1831.

I find that I have nearly exhausted my materials in the country, and have got the various heads into such train that a short time will fit them for the press. In a few days I purpose going to town, taking Oxford in my way, to compare my transcript of the Chronicle of the Princes, taken from the Red Book of Hergest, with the original in Jesus College.

I have been much puzzled in my endeavour to distinguish what portions of the Chronicle are to be attributed to Caradog, and at what period we may reasonably conclude his labours to have terminated. In these endeavours I consider myself to have been much misled by the assertion in Powell that the Annals were compiled by Caradog down to about 1157. At this period I could trace no alteration,

either as to style or manner of narrative, in any of the copies. In a brief register of events in Welsh history I found this entry:—"1121. The death of Caradog the Monk." Upon reference to this period I discovered a marked difference, especially in the Strata Florida copy, inexplicable upon any other supposition than its forming the concluding period of Caradog's compilation. From 1090 to 1120 the narrative is very minute, and apparently the work of an eye-witness. This 30 years occupies in the printed copy a space of eleven leaves. From this period to the foundation of the monastery of Strata Florida, a space of nearly 50 years, the narrative is very brief, and occupies but 6 leaves. 1120 forms the point of demarcation of a remarkable difference in the compilation which had always struck me; during this period Grufudd ab Rhys was struggling for the possession of that part of South Wales unsubjugated by the Normans, and was remarkably successful. His enterprize prior to 1120 is characterized as insanity, and an act of "presumption against the regal authority of King Henry, who had subjugated all the chiefs of the Isle of Britain, and many foreign countries." His followers are stigmatized as rebellious spirits, greedy of plunder, and unwilling to live under the order of the laws. The Normans, and the English kings are always mentioned with respect, and no expression of indignation at their encroachments escapes the author. After 1120 the style changes; most of the Welsh chieftains whose deaths are mentioned elicit from the compiler a panegyric; and the very Grufudd ab Rhys so vilified in the former part, upon his death in 1137 is styled "the light, strength, and courtesy of South Wales." The narrative is rapidly sketched to the foundation of the monastery of Strata Florida, about 1164, after which it is carried on by the monks with great minuteness. I find a striking agreement in all the copies, Latin and Welsh, down to 1098, where Dom. A 1 ends. From there the *Annales Menevenses* Harl. is very meagre till 1190, when it becomes very interesting until 1200, containing an account of many events not elsewhere to be found. From thence to 1257 it is meagre. At this period it again contains a very full account of occurrences, and many particulars not to be found in the Welsh, until 1263; from thence to the conclusion it is a mere sketch. The two interesting portions of the *Annales Menevenses* I conclude to be the work of monks contemporary with the events they relate. I expected to have found in the *Gwentian Chronicle* more decided traces of the hand of Caradog, but in this I was disappointed,—the style is the same to the conclusion in 1196.

A confirmatory reason for placing Caradog so early as 1121 I think occurs in a Welsh passage at the conclusion of the *Chronicle of the Kings*. "The succeeding Princes of Wales I commended to Caradog of Lancarvan, he *was* my cotemporary. And I left to him the charge of that work. That of the English Kings I commended to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon." This passage in the *Brut*, published about 1128, and the expression *was* appears to confirm the opinion that the entry of the death of Caradog the monk in 1121 alludes to Caradog, the historian of Lancarvan.

My Father accompanies me to London, partly with a view to arrangements for the publication of the *Mabinogion*, which he intends to have printed under his own inspection at Denbigh.—I am, &c.,
 ANEURIN OWEN.

Rev. W. J. Rees to Mr. Aneurin Owen.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favour, which came to hand about a month ago; the date of your preceding was, when you were about to proceed to London, and as you gave me room to expect that you were going to commit some of the result of your labours to the Press, I concluded from your long silence that your engagements in that respect prevented your paying attention to correspondence. The Transcript of the *Gododin*, which you placed in the hands of Mr. Laycock, was safely and duly received by me, but without any accompanying communication. I expect that when you were in the metropolis you communicated to Mr. Petrie an account of your progress in the work you had undertaken, which I conclude was satisfactory, and that he supplied you with hints for rendering the result of your labour and diligence still more valuable, and worthy of the reception of the Public when it proceeds from the Press. The Prefaces, which, you say, have taken up your time and attention since your return from London, must doubtless have been undertaken at least, with his approbation, and when completed, will doubtless be very interesting. What you mention respecting the Welsh History not having been continued by Caradog later than 1120, is very plausible, if not conclusive, and the discussion of such kinds of subjects connected with your undertaking, will add much to the value of your performances. When you depart from the opinion of old authorities, which should not be on slight grounds, it will be appropriate for you to adduce your reasons, and then the Public will have to judge how far your reasoning may be conclusive. Not having Capgrave's *Lives of the Saints*, I am sorry that it is not in my power to refer to the work, and inform you what he says respecting Caradog; whether or not he was the same person as Caradog, the monk, who died in 1124.—Having been importuned by some of the gentry of Radnorshire to write a History of the County, I have consented to collect materials with a view of ultimate publication should my collection be respectable and other circumstances be favourable for the undertaking. In the course of my enquiries, I may probably take the liberty, of propounding a few questions to you, when I think you can supply me with satisfactory answers. The district was formerly called *Fferregs*, & *Fferlys*; Can you tell me why it was so named? It was also called *Reinwec*, which I fancy was so denominated from a quick mode of pronouncing the former part of the full name *Rhwng Gwy ac Hafren*, which was found to be too long for ordinary purposes; this name was varied by the Welsh into *Erenwec*, *Ergin*, *Erchyn* and *Hergingel*, and was the cause of one of the towns of the district being called by the Romans *Ariconium*, and the district itself

denominated by the Saxons Arcenfilde, Irginfield, Archenfield, and Irchinfield, which last is, at present, the name of a Deanery in the county of Hereford.—It pleased me to hear that you approved of my biographical memoir of the author of the Celtic Researches; as I received the greater part of the information from himself, communicated for the purpose, and had reference to his correspondence, the account may be deemed accurate; as your father and he had so much literary intercourse with each other at one period of his life, I conclude that he perused the Memoir with considerable interest. As my paper is getting short, I shall not return any answer in this Letter to what your Father wrote in yours, but address a Note to him, to be sent herewith, which I will thank you to deliver to him. When you write be so good as to inform me whether you purpose to visit London this spring, and in case you go, what time you expect to set out. I have some idea of taking another turn to the great Metropolis, and may arrive there about the third week in May. With my best respects, &c., &c., I am, My dear Sir, Yours very sincerely,

W. J. REES.

[This letter bears the "frank" of R. Price, Esq., M.P., dated December 29, 1831.]

Cascob, n^r Presteign,
March 5. 1834.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have for some time been purposing to write to you, and at length have been induced to put my design in execution. As I take no small interest in your literary proceedings, it would give me no small pleasure to be informed of the state of your progress respecting the ancient Welsh Laws, and the Welsh Chronicles. When I had the pleasure of visiting Egryn, you shewed me a specimen of the intended printed copy of the Laws, but since then, I have had no information whatever on the subject. As you seemed desirous to get as much information as possible respecting the Welsh Chronicles, it affords me pleasure to communicate what I can relating to them. In a Welsh Magazine (*Eurgrawn Cymraeg*) printed at Carmarthen in 1770, I met with a portion of "*Brut y Tywysogion*," different from either of the copies in the Welsh Archæology. Its title was "*Brut y Tywysogion o amser Cadwaladr brenhin diweddf Brydain, hyd at Lewelyn y diweddf o dywysogion Brydain*" &c. Its first words were "*CADWALADR. Pan oedd oed ein Harglwydd Crist 681, yr aeth Cadwaladr Fendigaid i Lydaw at Alan nai Selef. Ac wedi ei fod yn ymddiddan o'r angel, efe a aeth i Rufain wrth ei arch ef. Ac yna y gwladychodd y Saeson ynys Brydain.*" Perhaps from your extensive researches, you are acquainted with the MS. copy from which this Brut was taken. The Magazine commenced in February 1770, and appeared once a fortnight until the month of September following when it seems to have been discontinued for want of patronage. Each number consisted of a portion of the Brut, with the foreign and domestic account of passing events in Welsh, extracted from the Newspapers. In consequence of the Magazine being dis-

continued abruptly, the Brut goes no further than about the year 1110, when Gryffydd ab Rhys ab Tewdwr was projecting the recovery of his father's dominions.—I have also to inform you that when I was at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, May 1822, I met with an English MS. with the following Title "The Acts and Successions of the British Princes from Cadwalader to the year of Christ 1156. Collected by Caradoc of Lancarvan. Augmented by Humfrey Lloyd to the year 1270." The first words were "After that Cadwalader the last king of the Britons, descending from the noble race of the Trojans, by extreame plagues of death and famine, was dryven to forsake this his realme and native country," &c. The last words were "After this there was nothing done in Wales worthy of memory, but that it is to be read in the English Chronicles, &c.—At London 17. Julii 1559, by Humfrey Lloyd."—In the 8th volume and 86th page of Leland's Itinerary, there are nine pages of particulars of ancient Welsh History in Latin, said to have been extracted "*Ex Chronico incerti auctoris*," beginning as follows Post Kereticum Cadwanus rex Venendtorum (Venedotorum?) sublimatus in regem Angliæ Bellum Cairlegion in quo Silla filius Kerran cecidit." The last words are "Henricus Turbevil succurrit castro de Cairmardin, et fregit pontem de Cairmardin."—I have thought proper to communicate these particulars with the expectation that the information contained in some of them, at least, may be new to you. When you favour me with a Letter, I will thank you, in addition to what you may be disposed to say respecting your edition of the Welsh Laws, and the Welsh Chronicles, to mention something respecting the forthcoming Mabino-gion, and you will likewise oblige me should you be so good as to inform me, or refer me to the authorities for constituting or assigning the district "Between the Wye and the Severn," to be a portion of the Province of Powys. Should you wish to be informed of the distribution of the Cantreys and Commotts of Radnorshire according to its parishes, I will send you the particulars as far as I can make them out, but there are some difficulties and doubt respecting them in consequence of the native Lords losing Cantref y Clawdd at an early period, and its becoming part of the territories of the Lords Marchers. I should also like to know something relating to Miss Angharad's History of Anglesey, and be informed when it is likely to be published, if you know it. There is to be a splendid Eisteddfod at Gwent this year, at which should you be disposed to attend, and take Cascob in your way, I shall be glad to see you as long as you can favour with your company. I understand that your father has been honoured with a public dinner at Denbigh, to which for his long services in the cause of Cambrian Literature he was duly entitled; be pleased to present my best respects to him; and wishing you and him health and happiness, I am, My dear Sir, Yours, very sincerely,

W. J. REES.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 29.—MARTIN DAVY'S STONE, NEAR HAVERFORDWEST.—About half-way between Haverfordwest and Little Haven, on the southern side of the road where it crosses a common, is a small upright stone, not larger than a mile-stone. Tradition calls it Martin Davy's Stone, and says that a man of this name, who had stolen a sheep one night, and was carrying it on his head, with its four feet tied together, sat down in front of this stone to rest himself, and let the animal lie on the top. The sheep, however, gave a convulsive movement; its legs slipped down in front of the man's throat, and its body slipped down behind the stone. The thief could not, of course, raise the body up sufficiently high, and he was found throttled, and dead, in this position. Is anything more known about this traditional story? S. B.

N. 30.—IRISH PILGRIMS AT ST. DAVID'S.—A member has informed me that the Rev. Chancellor Melville, in the last sermon which he preached in St. David's Cathedral before his lamented decease, (St. James' Day, 1857,) threw out a conjecture that the cathedral had, in former times, been much visited by Irish pilgrims, whose offerings also contributed to its support. Further information is desired on this subject, which is not without its value, when taken in connection with the legendary history of St. David's. J.

N. 31.—MEINI-HIRION, CARDIGANSHIRE.—In the parish of Llanddeiniol, seven miles from Aberystwyth, there were standing, within the memory of men now living, three meini-hirion, with another stone lying horizontally on the ground. It is said that all these have been removed; but it would be well for some of our members, living near the spot, to make inquiries, and to see if they can identify the precise spot. F. LL. P.

Query 69.—EDWARD I. AND THE WELSH BARDS.—Can any correspondent inform us where the *first* mention is made of Edward I. having persecuted the Welsh bards? Precise information is requested.

AN ANTIQUARY.

Q. 70.—NAMES OF PEMBROKESHIRE PARISHES.—What are the derivations of the names of the following parishes in Pembrokeshire, viz., Nevern, Narberth, Rhydberth, Llawhaden, Penally, Ludchurch, Begelly, Lamphey, Talbenny, Martel Twy? AN ANTIQUARY.

Q. 71.—PARISH REGISTERS IN WALES.—Can any member assist me to the date of the *earliest* entry on any parish register in Wales?

AN ANTIQUARY.

Q. 72.—Was the late Mr. Aneurin Owen the author of the articles on Denbighshire and Flintshire, in Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*? J.

Answer to Query 57.—The name of *Pennymell* may be a corruption of *Pen y Wal*: (*vide* "Gwal," in Owen Pughe's *Dictionary*.)

A. LL.

Miscellaneous Notices.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—In consequence of the pressure of matter, which indeed seems to be on the increase, we are obliged to postpone the insertion of several papers in our present Number, among them the review of a very important archæological work, *A Volume of Vocabularies*, by Mr. Wright. Members will no doubt have observed that the last Number of the Journal exceeded its usual dimensions by *one-half*, and the present Number runs greatly beyond the space hitherto allowed to the Publishing Committee. Notwithstanding this, the papers in our portfolio are accumulating very fast; and it is impossible to lay them all before the Association without nearly doubling the number of our pages, and also of our illustrations. We hope that the attention of members will be directed to this subject, which has an important financial bearing, at the next annual meeting.

LLANRHYDD CHURCH, NEAR RUTHIN.—This church is much indebted to the generous and zealous exertions of George Johnson, Esq., of Llanrhydd House. Having some time back restored one of the north windows, and re-glazed it with Powell's quarries, at his sole cost, he has just completed the opposite one of the south side, nearly at his own expense. This window, also glazed by Messrs. Powell and Son, is as rich and effective as any we have seen produced by those gentlemen. We understand that Mr. Johnson also contemplates extending his restoration to the remaining south window, so that only a small window on the northern side will remain to complete the restoration of all the windows in the church. The east window has also been restored and glazed by the same firm, at the expense of the sister of the late John Williams, Esq., formerly one of the members for Macclesfield. The effect of this window has been much heightened by the insertion of some excellent medallions and elaborate borders, and is as good a substitute for painted glass as we have seen. If any objection can be made, perhaps there is too much yellow in the upper part of the tracery; but, on the whole, the window is exceedingly rich, and yet simple, and does equal credit to the taste of those who selected it, and the firm who supplied it. We should rejoice to see our landed gentry take as much interest in their parish churches as has been exhibited in that of Llanrhydd.

DESTRUCTION OF WYNNSTAY LIBRARY.—It is with extreme regret that we have learnt the destruction by fire of the library and mansion of Wynnstay. All our members will no doubt sympathize with our excellent Vice-President in his calamity. We have not yet received any authentic particulars concerning the burning of the library; but if it contained at the time of its destruction the valuable MSS. which formed its glory, then no greater loss has befallen Welsh history and archæology since the similar accident which happened to the Sebright collection. We hope that the early charters of Ystrad Marchell, and other similar records, may be found among the title-deeds of the family,

which are said to have been preserved; but we shall endeavour to obtain accurate information before our next Number appears.

THE PROSE ROMANCE OF KING ARTHUR, a new edition, is about to appear in Mr. J. Russell Smith's excellent series of OLD AUTHORS, under the care and from the pen of Mr. Thomas Wright. We understand that the learned editor is adding notes and an introduction of his own,—a circumstance that will most considerably increase the archæological value and general interest of the book.

"CELTIC NAMES IN CÆSAR."—This is the title of a most interesting work by a German author, Gluck, which has been recently published. We intend reviewing it in a future Number, and we hope it will be translated.

We observe the title of a book very important for antiquaries, which has just issued from the Parisian press—*L'Histoire de l'Ornementation des Manuscrits*, by M. F. Denis. It touches upon a subject which is by no means so extensively handled in this country as it ought to be. Jeffs, of Paternoster Row, is the London publisher.

COMPOUNDERS FOR ESTATES.—A correspondent suggests the desirableness of members in each county of Wales making search for the names of descendants from those who were obliged to compound for their estates in the times of the Great Rebellion, and of ascertaining the names of their actual representatives. A list of the compounders themselves was published soon after the Restoration; but the carrying on, and completing, of these lists would tend greatly to the verification of Welsh county history.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.—On the 4th of December, 1857, an interesting communication was read from George V. Dunoyer, Esq., "On the Remains of Early Stone-Built Fortresses and Habitations on the Irish Coast, between Dunbeg Fort and Sleah Head, Dingle, County Kerry." The writer came upon these curious relics whilst engaged, in 1856, upon the geological survey of Ireland. These groups of buildings, probably eighty in number, occupy the gently-sloping plateau along the southern base of Mount Eagle, including the parishes of Ventry, Ballinooher, and Dunquin. An ancient bridle-path winds along the slope of the hill, and conducted to what Mr. Dunoyer assumes to have been the ancient Celtic city of Fahan. The appearance of these buildings, as seen in a series of clever views exhibited at the meeting, was very like some of the earliest Hellenic remains, with the exception that the stones which composed the walls were uniformly of comparatively small size. They were uniformly composed of long-shaped stones, unsquared, and laid horizontally. The doors were formed of large masses for lintel and jambs; and the general appearance of the circular houses seemed a rough adaptation of the construction of the so-called treasury at Mycenæ. The defence-walls and outworks were mostly widened at the base, and sloped violently down into the deep-sunk fossæ. The ground-plans of many of these circular habitations were very singular, being most admirably arranged for defence against intruders. The caher, or fort, includes a large area, in which are situated the houses, or cloghauns, which vary

considerably both in size, plan, and general form. The writer observed that, although the circular, or bee-hive, form of cloghaun was supposed to be more ancient than the rectangular, he regarded them as coeval, and did not assign any difference of date, as others had done, to the various shapes, whether square, elliptical, waved-oval, semi-oval, or semicircular. Many more of these buildings remain to be investigated. It was remarked that the present inhabitants construct huts on the same principle, not for their own residence, but for the housing of animals during the winter. The modern constructions are churn-shaped, with a conical roof. Only one small, loop-hole window was found among all the buildings at Fahan—an aperture at the top of the chamber gave passage to light as well as smoke.

NEW PHOTOGRAPHIC PROCESS.—Mr. Long, of the eminent firm of Bland and Long, opticians, Fleet Street, has recently put forth a valuable pamphlet, in the form of an essay on the dry collodion process. By means of this, plates prepared weeks before-hand may be exposed to objects, and then kept for weeks afterwards before they are developed, as he has proved it himself on the Continent. The advantage of this process to travellers, and especially to archæologists, is immense; because hitherto the main drawback upon photography has been the trouble and expense of carrying chemicals, tents, &c., &c., besides the camera, with its lenses, to the scene of operation. Now, however, it will be sufficient to carry merely the camera, with a suitable supply of plates prepared according to this process. The observer can then, by only exposing his plates, with the proper precautions, *bag* any number of views per diem, and on his return home can develop them—or have them developed—at leisure. If this process succeeds, it will have the effect of splitting photography into two distinct branches—the *æsthetic*, and the *practical*. The former will fall to the share of the intelligent observer, the traveller, the man of taste, who will go and search for objects, combine them, or use them, under the most favourable æsthetic circumstances, and then will carry them home to be handed over to the man of practice. Once in the hands of the latter, nothing will remain but to manipulate the plates according to the rules of photographic science, by means of all the best appliances that a well fitted laboratory can furnish. One branch will feed the other. One will be the department of observation, of search, of taste, of beauty; the other will be that of calm scientific developement, of improvement, of preservation. One man will be like the artist who paints; the other like the artist who engraves. One will be like the author, the man who writes; the other like the printer, the man who perpetuates. We recommend members to inquire carefully about this new process; because, if it becomes firmly established, any archæologist moving about the country may get views of churches, castles, cromlechs, meini-hirion, seals, &c., &c., *usque ad satietatem*—we had almost said *ad nauseam*; but *that* word can never be connected with archæology! The upshot of this is,—“Read Mr. Long’s pamphlet, and set up a portable camera with his prepared plates, as we intend doing ourselves!”

Reviews.

TALIESIN; OR, THE BARDS AND DRUIDS OF BRITAIN. A Translation of the Remains of the Earliest Welsh Bards, and an Examination of the Bardic Mysteries. By D. W. NASH, Member of the Royal Society of Literature. London: John Russell Smith, 36, Soho Square. 1858.

Keltic affairs wear a very hopeful aspect, and it is highly gratifying to see so much attention paid by English and continental writers to the ancient literature of Wales and Ireland. The grammar of the Welsh language, the poetry of our elder bards, and our romances and bardic traditions, have been, and are being, diligently studied, and ably illustrated, by our foreign contemporaries; but while so much is done for us by strangers, the reflection is not a little humiliating that we ourselves have been comparatively inert, and have very sadly neglected our duties. And it is still more humiliating to be compelled in honesty to admit, that what we have done does not redound to our credit; that we, who ought best to know what our ancient literature really is, should have stooped to wear the deluding spectacles of Jacob Bryant, Vernon Harcourt, and Algernon Herbert; and that, instead of rising to the level of contemporary criticism, we should have drawn upon ourselves the not unjust rebuke of Schulz, that most Cambrian writers have been "utterly destitute of all capacity for historical criticism,"—"gänzliche Mangel alles Organs für historische Kritik."¹ Of these contemporary works, the last, and not the least able, is that which now lies before us. Mr. Nash commences his book with something like a challenge, in the words (translated) of Sion Kent,—

"If there is a poet possessed of knowledge without bias,
An old Welshman free from perverseness,
Let him answer me."

We make no pretension to the poetic faculty, neither are we a Nestor, "whose years are awful, and whose words are wise;" but if the unanimous verdict of writers, Welsh, English, French and German may be trusted, what little knowledge we possess is without bias, and free from perverseness. Indeed, Mr. Nash himself has honoured with his commendation one of our previous labours; and it is to be hoped that our judgments, without being uniformly favourable, may yet receive his approbation, and that of others.

The principal theme of this book is the poetry of Taliesin; and as the poems of this bard have been very largely and strangely used by the expositors of what is termed druidic mythology, a careful examination thereof is an essential service to literature, and has been much desiderated. Mr. Nash is therefore entitled to our gratitude for

¹ *Sagen von Merlin*, p. 4.

having taken the subject in hand, as well as for having performed his part with remarkable ability; and he has also gone still further, and included the whole field of so-called bardic tradition. The work is divided into seven chapters, viz.,—

1. An Introduction.
2. The Personal History of Taliesin.
3. The Historical Poems.
4. The Mythological Poems.
5. Neo-Druidism and the Druidic Philosophy.
6. The Worship of Hu Gadarn.
7. The Welsh Romances.

We shall offer a few observations upon each of these sections, in the order in which they now stand.

The Introduction defines the object of the work to be the study of the two centuries succeeding the Roman period, gives a full and fair statement of the views put forth by Celtic Davies, Herbert, Meyer, Owen, Iolo Morganwg, and Archdeacon Williams, and embraces a circumstantial account of the Welsh literary remains having reference to his subject. This portion contains but little criticism, and calls for no comment. It concludes with a promise of another part of the work, treating of the bardic alphabet, the historical triads, and other sources of Cambrian story, a promise which we hope Mr. Nash will fulfil. The undertaking has our best wishes; and as our prose literature presents fewer difficulties than the poetical, we do not doubt that he will entitle himself to our hearty commendation.

In the chapter on the Personal History of Taliesin, he has collected and reviewed all the biographical notices of this bard, whether poetic, romantic, or traditional; but his treatment of these materials is unsatisfactory; and the chapter altogether is diffuse and uncritical. Mr. Nash is an uncompromising opponent of the mythological school, and so far has our cordial concurrence; but here he has not wholly emancipated himself from their influence, or he would not have fallen into the error of doubting the historical existence of the bard Taliesin. This name lays claim to considerable antiquity, especially in its older form of Tele-essin, and certainly did not appear for the first time in either the tenth or thirteenth centuries. Names compounded of Tele were common among the Greeks, and a score of them may easily be cited; and the compound Tele-sin appears repeatedly among the Romans. Three, if not four or five, persons of this name appear in Latin literature; for we read of two as kings and leaders of the Samnites, namely, Pontius Telesinus and his son; again, we read in Tacitus, of Lucius Telesinus, consul, philosopher, and contemporary of Domitian; and if this was not the person named by Martial and Juvenal, there were one or two others of the name. The name may have passed over from the Romans to the Britons, as Tacit-us reappears in Tacit, the older form of Tegid, unless we may assume that they had it before. In any case, the supposition that the name was first invented by the author of the *Mabinogi* becomes quite untenable;

and as to the silence of Geoffrey, if that proves anything, it ought also to be held that neither Aneurin nor Llywarch Hen were beings of flesh and blood. The truth is, that Geoffrey shows no acquaintance with the bards and bardic poems. He apprehended Welsh history on its traditional, not its literary side; and he magnified Merlin, for the simple reason that he followed Nennius, who had before invested him with the character of a diviner. For our part, we hold Taliesin to have been as real a character as Mr. Nash himself; and if the frequent occurrence of his name in the Urien poems were not sufficient, we should be quite content to rely upon a passage in the *Gododin*, of which neither Mr. Williams (ab Ithel) nor Mr. Nash have seized the real significance. The best rendering hitherto given is that of M. de la Villemarqué; but the sense of the passage is this,—

“Of the mead from the horn,
Of the host of Cattrath,
I, Aneurin, will make,
As is known to Taly-essin,
A skilful design:
He will not sing a Gododin,
Of what followed the dawn of day.”

“*Neu cheing e*,” admits of no other rendering than, “*He* will not sing;” and hence it is quite clear that Aneurin, the junior bard, had conversed with Taliesin respecting his intended epic. The fact that many poems are falsely attributed to Taliesin is no proof that no such person existed. Virgil, in the middle ages, was treated in an analogous way, and accounted a magician; and it would be equally just to argue, from these mediæval representations, that he had no real being. There was a true Virgil, and a false; a real and false Merlin; and, in the same way, a real and a *pseudo* Taliesin. Indeed, the occurrence of the false presupposes the antecedence of the true; just as an imitation is a presumptive evidence of the prior existence of the thing imitated.

The section on the Historical Poems of Taliesin is generally judicious; but it is evident that Mr. Nash has not seen the series of papers on “The Poems of Taliesin” which appeared in our volumes for 1851–53. We should place in the sixth century several poems which Mr. Nash refers to the twelfth—such as *Marwnad Aeddon*; and we should omit others, such as “*Ymarwar Lludd Bychan*,” a poem evidently referring to the Saracens, which he has ante-dated. He is quite correct in denying that, in their present form, the historical poems are as old as the times to which they relate. They were most probably re-written in the twelfth century, or thereabout; and there are several indications, faint it is true, which countenance this assumption. Giraldus, A.D. 1188, says that he had long sought for a copy of the poems of Merlin Sylvester, or Myrddin Wyllt, and that he found one at Nevyn, in Caernarvonshire. That affords a fair presumption of the existence of poems or verses of Myrddin before that time. Again, in the Venedotian Code of the Laws of Howel, we are

told that a "ridge" was formerly called "tir," and that in "Cymraec newyd," or *New Cymraeg*, it was called "grwn."—(*Myv.* iii. 403; Owen's *Laws*, i. 184.) The expression "New Cymraeg," in a MS. of the middle of the thirteenth century (Owen, Pref. xxviii.), not only proves that a re-habilitation of the old remains had taken place, but also seems to fix its date. Lastly, there is subjoined to this very copy an extract of seventeen lines, in an old orthography, from the older copy of the laws, of which this MS. was a new edition. And in the first volume of the *Myvyrian* (pp. 85-88), there are several pages of fragments of Aneurin's *Gododin*, different from, and older than, any copy we now have, being, in fact, in an orthography closely resembling that of the fragments of the ninth and tenth centuries, published in Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica*. It is certainly desirable that the *hiatus* between the sixth and twelfth centuries should be bridged over; but we see no insuperable difficulty in the undertaking.

The fourth and fifth sections are those in which Mr. Nash has put forth most of his strength. These are characterized by remarkable ability, and have afforded us much pleasure and instruction. It is an acceptable service to place the bulk of the poems of the *pseudo* Taliesin within the reach of ordinary readers; and it is a still greater service to render them into English, accompanied by intelligent illustrations, so that the world may now know what they really are. The translations, it is true, here, as well as throughout the work, are far from being as correct as we could wish they had been. Some objection on this head appears to have been anticipated by the author; and we, who know the difficulties of our language to be greater than he imagines them to be, can readily pardon his shortcomings in this respect. The errors of translation affect the details rather than the general impression; and as he laboured honestly to educe the real meaning of these poems, untrammelled by any theory, his reader will rise from the work with a tolerably clear perception of what they really contain. We fully concur in his view, that, though called mythological poems, they contain no mythology; and that they simply reflect the theological and romantic spirit of the middle ages, without affording any support whatever to the Helio-Arkite speculations of Ed. Davies, or those of Dr. Meyer. The Germans say, in their cumbrous manner, that "Mr. Stephens has unsparingly made such a rent in the Keltic god-heaven, that Davies and all his school, on both sides of the channel, must fall through;"² and Mr. Nash has very ably continued what his predecessor had begun.

In the fifth section, on Neo-Druidism and the Druidic Philosophy,

² San Marte (Schulz), *Sagen von Merlin*. "Stephens hat durch seine verdienstliche Schrift — einen Riss in den Celtischen Gotter-himmel schonungslos gebrochen, gross genug, dass Davies und seine Schüler diesseits und jenseits des Canals sammt den mythologischen Früchten ihrer Kombination und Leichtgläubigkeit in den bodenlosen Abgrund hindurchfallen müssen, ohne dass der Verfasser das Schicksal der weiland himmel-Sturmenden Giganten und Titanen zu fürchten hat."

Mr. Nash discusses the views put forth by Herbert and Archdeacon Williams, both of whom have been led astray by the Rev. Ed. Davies. The learned but eccentric author of "The Neo-Druidic Heresy" is very sharply treated, sternly weighed in the scale of criticism, and found wanting. Our countryman, also, the author of *Gomer*, is here, as well as in other parts of the work, subjected to severe animadversion; and it must be admitted that he has committed himself to several untenable positions; but we cannot approve of the acrimony displayed against him. "Dormitat Homerus" has been admitted as an excuse for "the blind old bard of Chios' rocky isle;" and one who has written so much and so well as Archdeacon Williams is fairly entitled to a similar defence. Some of his criticisms have been anticipated, in a friendlier spirit, by the author of the *Literature of the Kymry*;³ but with reference to bardism, we shall have the warrant of that writer in saying that the author of *Gomer* is not very far wrong. Here Mr. Nash is certainly out of his depth. Bardism evidently contains Buddhist and Gnostic, if not Manichean elements; and we hold it to be perfectly certain, that Iolo Morganwg did not, and could not, invent the triads in which this theosophy is embodied. It is therefore a phenomenon yet to be explained. We do not see our way clearly to adopt any of the views put forth; but, as several writers are now known to be engaged on the subject, we may shortly expect to receive more satisfaction. In the meantime, we invite Mr. Nash to re-peruse the opening verses of the *Andyl Vraith*,—

"*Павров* made,
On the ground of Hebron Vale,
With his white hands,
The æsthetic Adam;

"And five hundred years,
Without much protection,
He was lying,
Before he had a soul."

Where shall we find an explanation of this? Until something better is advanced, we beg to call attention to a note in Sale's *Koran*, setting forth a Mahomedan belief, that God commissioned four angels to make a man, of seven kinds of earth; that Satan, or Eblis, viewed the operation very jealously; that the body was *left to dry for forty years*; and that then Adam received the breath of life! Let this suffice to show that there were more things in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than are commonly dreamt of by modern men. Mr. Nash is quite right in denying that either Helio-Arkite or Mithraic worship is set forth in the mediæval poems; and the conclusiveness as well as the copiousness of his biblical illustrations, show the writers to have been tolerably orthodox Christians; but we do not

³ On "Myg Dinbych,"—see the *Cambrian Journal* for March, 1857; and on "Apis,"—*The Traethodydd* for September last.

consider that he has exhausted the subject, even of the *pseudo* Taliesinic poems.

The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries form the true era of bardism and Hu Gadarn; and, as might have been expected, Mr. Nash, though always a keen critic, is here unsatisfactory. Bardism is an obscure subject, but it is certainly neither purified Druidism nor Christianity; and Hu Gadarn, without some addition to our present facts, must necessarily be a difficult personage to deal with; but we hope shortly to throw a few rays of light upon his history, to make a striking addition to this part of our national literature, and, perhaps, to prove satisfactorily that this hero-god was "two single gentlemen rolled into one,"—a Hebrew pronoun deified, and a hero of mediæval romance.

The section on the Welsh Romances concludes the work, and presents several points of interest. Here, as well as in several of the previous chapters, the author has made some acceptable additions to the proof previously existing of a close connection between the ancient literature of Wales and Ireland.

With these qualifications, we have much pleasure in commending the book to the attention of our readers. They will find here, at a reasonable cost, what is otherwise only to be found in that scarcest of all scarce, and dearest of all dear, books, the *Myvyrian Archæology*, the bulk of the Taliesin poems, real and false, both in the originals and in English translations. The book is an acceptable companion to such works as the *Literature of the Kymry*, and a seasonable contribution towards the study of what is called Keltic mythology; it is replete with interest, and is both the fullest and the most faithful account of our *pseudo* druidic literature yet given to the world.

LE PAYS BASQUE, SA POPULATION, SA LANGUE, SES MŒURS, SA LITTÉRATURE, ET SA MUSIQUE. Par M. FRANCISQUE MICHEL, Correspondent de l'Institut de France, &c. 8vo. Paris, 1857.

The population of the Basque provinces have a peculiar interest for us in the mystery which clouds their origin, and which leaves us in ignorance as to their race, a mystery which, it hardly need be observed, has been a fertile source of antiquarian and ethnological speculation. Wilhelm von Humboldt, in a publication devoted to this subject, held, not without plausibility, that the Basques are the remains of the Iberians, or original population of Spain. Others have identified this people very variously; and we believe that an attempt is now making to identify them with the Finns of the North, and to show that these two peoples are the true representatives of the primitive race which first occupied the continent of Europe.

Monsieur Francisque Michel, in the very interesting as well as very learned volume of which we give the title above, has avoided this speculative part of the subject in order to tell us what the Basques

are, and what they have been during the periods in which we have any knowledge of them. He commences, as we might expect, with an account of the country they inhabit, which extends over the country on the slopes of the western extremity of the Pyrenees, both in France and Spain. The French Basques occupy rather more than a third of the department of the Basses-Pyrénées, while those of Spain inhabit Navarre, Guipuzcoa, Alava, Biscaye, and part of the Asturias. In his second chapter, M. Michel treats of the language of the Basques, to which they themselves give the name of *Eskuara*, and which bears affinity with no other known language. He has shown that, as far back as we have any traces of the condition of this population, their language has never existed as anything but a *patois*, and that it was never committed to writing until it became fashionable to write pieces of verse, &c., in patois, in the seventeenth century. The language is here treated at some length, and we have a simple and clear account of its general character, and of its grammatical forms. A third chapter is devoted to the Basque proverbs, a class of literature peculiar to the condition of society which prevailed among the Basques, and which with them possesses many singularities. Another class of popular literature which has long been a favourite among the people of the Basque provinces consists in theatrical representations, more or less rude in character, a taste which seems to have arisen in the middle ages. The old mysteries are still performed there, and some of them are worked up with considerable skill, and even receive quite a pastoral character. The Basques have also comedies, or, more properly speaking, farces, much like those well known farces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which embody broad satires not only on the vices of society in general, but even upon individuals living at the time, and upon common incidents in contemporary life. The Basque dramatic muse has ventured even upon tragedy, and M. Michel has given us analyses of several examples of Basque tragedies which represent respectively, though in rather a droll manner, the histories of Clovis, of Marie of Navarre, of the Emperor Napoleon, and of the four sons of Aimon, subjects which are at all events sufficiently diversified. The two favourite amusements of the Basques are the dance, of which there are several varieties peculiar to the country, and the *jeu de paume*, which pleases them because it is a violent exercise. The inhabitants of these wild districts have long been celebrated as smugglers, and the manners and adventures of the Basque *contrebandiers*, as well as of the gipsies, who are numerous, occupy two very interesting chapters of the book before us. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French Basque provinces enjoyed a melancholy reputation for their witches, multitudes of whom perished under the inquisitorial commission directed by Desl'Ancre, and who published an account of his proceedings, and of the persecution of the witches, in a large quarto volume, in 1610. We are not, therefore, surprized that the interesting subject of popular superstitions occupies a long chapter in M. Michel's book; and the same

may be said of the fisheries; for the Basques were the great fishermen of the western coast—they chiefly furnished France with the cod, and they engaged largely in the whale fishery—they became thus great adventurers on the sea, and even in our own days they are remarkable for their tendency to emigration, especially to the South American republics.

Our space will not allow us to say much more on a work which is not immediately connected with the special subjects of our researches; but we must add that a very important portion of this volume consists of a large and interesting collection of the popular poetry and stories of the Basques, which M. Michel has collected with extraordinary industry, and which he has illustrated with a mass of learned and useful notes. In looking over this poetry, and indeed in the whole book, we are continually struck with the vast influence which the middle ages exercised upon every class of society, and we feel hence that we have the more reason to rejoice that such a subject should have been taken up by a scholar like M. Francisque Michel, whose profound knowledge of the middle ages is so universally known. This circumstance, indeed, gives a great part of its value to the book in our eyes, and makes it doubly useful to those who, like ourselves, seek in it not merely a description of the inhabitants of the Basque provinces, but the means of comparing their history and condition with those of other peoples who may be found somewhat similarly situated. The chapter or chapters on the Basque popular poetry occupies one half the volume, and is followed by a descriptive bibliographical catalogue of printed works, or specimens in the Basque language, which have appeared since it became a written language.

